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Business Watch Paul Wells blogs on "Super Weekend" as the leadership race heats up, with Liberals across the country finally starting to vote for their next leader. www.macleans.ca/paul/wells
TV Guidance Jenni J Weinman's new blog keeps you up to date on the latest in TV culture. www.macleans.ca/jenni/weinman
Unleash Tony Heller on the ongoing controversy surrounding the Maclean's Rankings Issue. www.macleans.ca/unleash
New audio blog Each weekday at 10:30 a.m. EST, join Scott Peachuk for his take on the headlines. www.macleans.ca/peachuk

'To call the Non-Aligned Movement anti-Western is journalistic nonsense'



THE GG'S MISFORTUNES

WHEN I SAW your cover ("Public life, private tragedy," Sept. 25), my first impulse was to throw Maclean's into the recycling bin.

And Adrienne Clarkson betrayed the trust of the Canadian people with her enormous gaudiness. Apparently, she has had some misfortunes in her life. At least she has that in common with many Canadians. *Mans Schmeidberg, Hamilton*

I READ the excerpt of Clarkson's memoir with great interest. But why would a writer as subtle as Mrs. Clarkson and with such elegant prose: "The love between us, my daughter

and I, never actually happened, and has remained mutually, now?" Being perfectly bilingual, I am sure that in French she would write, "Nous nous aimons ou non?" *Hanka Martin, Calgary*

CLARKSON is quoted as saying, "The system isn't broken, but it could still do with fixing" ("It's time to vote for the Governor General," From the editor, Sept. 25). I agree. Perhaps she will start by paying some of the money she has donated to the Tories. Moreover, if the British monarchy wishes to be represented here, it could consider underwriting the costs of maintaining this castle, an egregiously expensive bit of neo-imperialist imperialism. *Michael McCoway, Toronto*

TO USE THIS PHRASE "the role of the British monarchy in our post-imperial system" is an error because the monarchy that exists is

THE GIFT OF LANGUAGES

I HAVE READ with great interest the recent article on education ("Haweswick is killing our kids," Cover, Sept. 25). But on the article by Cathy Gault on schooling kids early ("How young is too young?" Sept. 21), one sentence stopped me short: "An early learning program developed by a Duke University professor even has five-year-olds deconstructing sentences and speaking foreign languages." Granted, deconstructing sentences surprises me, but early childhood is the only time in child's life when he or she has the chance of acquiring language on a mother-tongue level. It is virtually impossible for children learning a language after the age of 10 to become as proficient, fluent or idiomatic in that language as they are in their mother tongue. Early language acquisition is one of the greatest joys parents can bestow on their children. *Mylene Brinkman, Vancouver, France*

'PEACEFUL NATIONS' IN NAM

TO CALL the Non-Aligned Movement "a tiny lobby anti-Western" is journalistic nonsense ("Tyranny of the Caribbean," World, Sept. 25). As you report, over 120 nations form NAM, almost as many as belong to the United Nations. They include the Bahamas, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, and Jamaica. Do you really consider their leaders gnomes? What about Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Pakistan, Jordan, Lebanon and Kuwait? South Africa? Certainly, your article seems to take pleasure in portraying Cuba especially as a rogue nation. I have travelled extensively in Cuba, and found the people to be highly educated, articulate and healthy. They love Canadian aid and respect our government. Many Canadian firms are doing business there. Certainly Cuba has never been a threat to Canadian interests. Please, folks, let's stick with what we know is right: respecting the sovereignty of peaceful nations, even if their ideology is different from ours. *Bergette Wilson, Winnipeg Beach, Ont.*

GLASS HOUSES AND STONES

I AM HALFWAY converted to anti-Canadianism ("A conspiracy of our Americanists," books, Sept. 21). I appreciated that Mark Sosa column as a reminder that no country is immune to screwing up. We as Canadians rarely dwell on our own mistakes, like martial law in Quebec and our horrendous treatment of Japanese Canadians. And/or M. Scott Pospisil for the scary truth that we scapegoat others when we ourselves have sinned. But we don't want to face it. This could include the Democrats scapegoating the Republicans, or Canadians scapegoating Americans. Maybe our neighbours we just attempting to level the world's playing field. I wish we had the strength to do something of the sort rather than stop

conspiracy and communitarian have seen their landscape irrevocably change. When there was nothing rainforest—good for harvesting nuts, oils and other products—there are now soy fields. The preserved jobs have never arrived because the industry is highly mechanized. And it's not just Amazonia. Throughout the Amazon basin, enormous lands are being taken out of the rainforest, destroying biodiversity and destabilizing the world's climate. For these reasons the biggest soy traders in the world agree, after environmental and local protests by Greenpeace, to no new deforestation for soy production for the next two years. Further, they have promised to address dilemmas such as land theft to ensure soy grows in defoliated areas.

In doing so briefly: Antonio Castro, Deputy Campaign Director, Greenpeace Brazil, Manaus, Brazil, and Richard Bouska, Forest Campaign Coordinator, Greenpeace Canada, Vancouver.

CLANDESTINE SUPPORT

SEAN M. MALONEY'S ARTICLE ("Big trouble with the neighbours," World, Sept. 21) was an excellent analysis of the situation in both Afghanistan and the Middle East, especially when he wrote, "yet all of us who study emergency know that outside support networks

will have to be destroyed if we are to achieve peace in southern Afghanistan." It's a small pang to the Middle East, but locally and figuratively. Not only nations like Iran and Syria, who openly use finance terrorism, must be stopped, but anyone in the area or elsewhere who sends funds, either directly or indirectly, to the so-called martyrs, or to the functionaries of Hamas or Fatah. Further, those who condemned Israel out of real concern that Israel overreacted should consider that, although Israel did ban the airport runways and some infrastructure, it could have pulverized Beirut's power grid and destroyed the airport terminal. The anti-war campaign should be led at the feet of those responsible—the terrorists and their supporters both direct and indirect. *Howard Abadi, Montreal*

IT'S A TREASONOUS relief to find your clear-eyed, accurate analysis of Canada's military plight in recent and distant history in our national media. A steady dose of headline-grabbing TV shows of wailing families, and



CANADIAN troops in Afghanistan: Cutting through the fog

ping in late to a war while continuing to talk about peacekeeping. *Miriam Aschberg, Thru-Hills, Alta.*

WET ON WRIGHT

I REALLY LIKE what you have done to the magazine. There is always something edifying in such issue. But in the ragged about the new Frank Lloyd Wright book *The Fellowship* ("Finally a book about... an architect's work," Sept. 25), I would like to point out that one of his "greatest buildings" is not called Fellowship; it is Fallingwater. *Julie McGee, London, Ont.*

GREENPEACE EXPLAINS

WE'RE SURPRISED that your article on the operations of both Greenpeace in northern Brazil didn't delve into the complexities of soy, Saccharum and the destruction of the Amazon rainforest ("Forest grumpy," Environment, Sept. 21). Saccharum is inherited by those who have lived in the region for generations, and "soy-rush" pragmatism from the south. In these remote places, overgrazing is

WEDNESDAYS



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'Too bad Alexandre Trudeau was not in his father's shoes at the time of the FLO crisis. Our civil rights might have been better protected.'



TRUDEAU at a Hesseh Alamei rally, campaigning to release a man detained without a trial

the beer-pasture logic that infests radio talk shows, seems to be stifling public opinion and manipulating the general public. In my youth, Canadians were willing to pay a seven price to stand against manifest evil and injustice. Now, we learn that "We profess natural rights, unalienable and preexisting, as national ideals, while we excuse religious racism born on killing, infidelity by whatever means. Although the shape and diversity of the threat has changed, it is still powered by racial and religious fanaticism, the true support by bigotry and ignorance. Maloney cuts through the fog, to his-and-your-great credit." Garry Gaudet, Lantzville, B.C.

NOTHING TO FEAR BUT...

CONGRATULATIONS to Alexandre Trudeau for a very lucid and enlightening article on the need to confront and defeat the neo-fascism created by terrorism ("We have to defeat fear" World, Sept. 11). "Too bad Alexandre was not in his father's shoes at the time of the October 1970 FLQ crisis. Our civil rights and freedoms might have been better protected." Neil E. Fortin, Menasha, Ont.

IF ALEXANDRE TRUDEAU wanted to film a documentary about democracy without trial, surely he would have more shrewdness than just visiting the head of his rival, Fidel Castro. Canada's handful of detainees would

hardly get a laugh from the flag-in-Havana. It's not fear we have to defeat, Alexandre, it's the money. David Swanson, Morikwan, Ont.

THE ONLY THING we have to fear is another Trudeau in Canadian politics. Kevin C. McDonald, Halifax

'WORTHLESS CALUMNY'

I read it absolutely unacceptable that you would permit a biased individual like Paul Wells to promulgate so blatantly about the job that Bob Rae did as premier of Ontario ("Can't we pay them to go home?" Nielsen, Sept. 25). While stating, "Rae may have come pretty close to running Ontario into the ground in the 1990s." This opinion constitutes worthless, partisan calumny! The North American recession that began at the end of the 1980s has been denounced by a number of respected economists as being second only to the Great Depression in severity. A variety of factors over which Rae had no control made bringing prosperity to Ontario in the early '90s impossible. While many know this, if they are even reasonably knowledgeable, Albrecht's editorial makes known it too. In fact, the Rae government passed off conditions from deteriorating even faster than they did. There should respect for the facts. John Garrick, Scarborough, Ont.

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A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF OSAMA BIN LADEN

Depending on the source, al Qaeda's elusive leader has met numerous fates. One report claimed he was killed in Yemen. Another said his kidney failed. The latest rumour emerged on Sept. 23 when a French newspaper, citing a Saudi intelligence briefing, said bin Laden died of typhoid in rural Pakistan. Days later, an unnamed Taliban leader came forward to deny the report. Dead or alive—in somewhere in between—bin Laden remains the world's most wanted man.

Good news

Sensing opportunity

Reports that Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert quietly met with King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia have raised hopes of improved relations between the long-enmired governments and a possible alignment of Mideast powers against Iran. Each side has its agenda: Olmert reportedly hopes to revive a 2003 Saudi proposal to help settle the Palestinian dispute, while King Abdullah is said to be worried about the danger posed by Iranian hegemony. Arab oil fields are considered a likely target should Tehran strike at U.S. interests. Conversation isn't concrete, but the story holds out hope that good sense, and not just chaos, may be taking over in the Mideast.

Short yardage

Ricky Williams, a star acquaintance for the CFL's Toronto Argonauts, racked up an underwhelming 57 yards on 11 carries in a 16-16 tie to the Calgary Stampeders, leaving the win-or-lose question what you all the fans about this guy? Stampeders from the NFL's Minnesota Vikings over his attachment to marriage, Williams arrived in Canada, amid much fanfare last spring, yet played only marginally well for months before breaking his arm. His case belongs to retired other named Americans who failed to excel in the three-down game, and reminiscent as that relief from Gaffney Ricky is at hand. Barring a comeback play off run for the Argos, the circus will soon move back to Florida.

Surplus, plus, plus

With the federal budget surplus soaring and an election looming, Stephen Harper's Conservatives seemed poised to dominate this week. Prime Minister

Bad news

Thanks, Alfonso, but...

They like Volpe. Sure, his Liberal leadership campaign took ethically shaky donations from the halls of pharmaceutical executives. Yes, he allegedly signed up Montreal "supporters" without their knowledge, at an own cost, worn bodies. But does he really deserve public words of support from the medical and multi-billed Liberal Alliance? Then there's John Bass, who "saw" the endorsement of the provincial Health Plan, the latest president

egg-bakes in Alberta, Ontario. Doctors still don't know if the damage to his right eye is permanent. Perhaps people should just follow Prince Charles' lead. A new book says the heir to the throne is an egg-head who requires staff to hold seven at a time, then tests each looking for the perfect eating consistency. An extravagant waste, but at least nobody gets hurt.

Environmental loss

The death of Canadian ecologist Jennifer Heald and an of her World Wildlife Fund colleagues represents an enormous loss, and not just to the conservation group. Heald was serving a party of scientists, politicians and journalists whose helicopter crashed in eastern Nepal, killing all 24 on board. The 34-year-old from London, Ont., was the WWF's coordinator for the Himalaya-South Asia region, and was working with numerous other experts on Nepal's Himalaya region, including the country's biodiversity. Together, these individuals represented a treasury of information about—and the best hope for—a fragile area beset by population and development pressures. Who sees the loss of environmental politics, the world can ill afford the loss of bright, dedicated people seeking to spread understanding of their cause.

Knowing the enemy

Last week, news on a quarter-broke gained down Stella Arua Jan, a prominent female teacher who, under Taliban rule, secretly opened a underground school for girls in Afghanistan. Though tragic, her murder was a timely reminder of precisely who our soldiers are fighting, and why they must stay. ■

Rotten eggs

U.K. researchers warn that the Halloween tradition of egg-tossing is making a heavy toll. Their year-long study of one Liverpool hospital called 31 egg-related injuries. And no source had the findings been published than a 10-year-old girl was struck in the face by

FACE OF THE WEEK



CHEERUP British Prime Minister Tony Blair speaks at the Labour Party's annual conference for the last time before his retirement

government should finish reviewing Canada's cultural policy before demanding it.

Carry-on compromise

Passengers are once again allowed to carry weapons and other toiletries through airport security checkpoints. Last month, when Western nations issued a ban on all liquids after a group of British men allegedly plotted to smuggle small amounts of explosives onto at least 10 airplanes. Thankfully, the restrictions were relaxed this week in favour of what one official described as "common sense" (indeed).



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IN THEATRES OCTOBER 06



ROSH HASHANAH

moving failed to fulfill an earlier plan to have off of its troops out of Lebanon by Rosh Hashanah—the start of a 10-day festival that marks the Jewish new year and involves an examination of one's relationship with God—the Israeli government said this week that the soldiers will likely be out by the end of the holiday.

- 1 Thousands of Jews from around the world will pray at the Western Wall in Jerusalem's Old City during the holiday.
- 2 Boys play with top guns near the tomb of influential Jewish thinker Rabbi Nachman in the Ukrainian farming town of Uman—the site of an annual anti-semitic pilgrimage. This year about 20,000 made the trip.
- 3 Ultra-orthodox Jewish boys receive a haircut in Uman.
- 4 Jewish men dance together in the streets of Uman the day before the period of self-reflection begins.

PHOTO: HIRSH DUBOIN; MENAHEM BEN-HAMUT (3/15/15) GETTY IMAGES; REBEKAH HARRIS/AP PHOTO (1/15/15); JONAS MUELLER/REUTERS (1/15/15)



RAMADAN

The Islamic holy month got off to a violent start this week in Iraq as sectarian violence left dozens dead. The mood in Pakistan was more reflective as mosques filled with people honoring loved ones they lost last year when a 7.6 magnitude earthquake—the largest natural disaster in the country's history—struck during the month, killing 73,000 and leaving another 3.5 million people homeless.

- 1 Muslims in Jakarta compensate for prayer on the eve of Ramadan.
- 2 Bangladeshi Muslims break the fast at a market in the capital city of Dhaka. From sunrise to sunset during the month, Muslims refrain from eating, drinking and sex.
- 3 An Arab woman buys an Islamic headress in Jerusalem's Old City.
- 4 Friday prayers at a Jakarta mosque. About 60 per cent of Indonesia's 235 million people are Muslim, making it the world's second-largest Islamic nation.

PHOTO: LEROY BATCHELOR/REUTERS (1/15/15); GETTY IMAGES; REBEKAH HARRIS/AP PHOTO (1/15/15); JONAS MUELLER/REUTERS (1/15/15)



Finally, someone who cares about Christians



SUSAN ARIEL

Pope Benedict XVI dropped one of his Prada shoes recently. Quoting the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus as the "evil evil emperor" of the Muslim world, he suggested that there's not much talking ground between Christianity, a faith that has reconciled itself with reason, and Islam, a medieval system that has not.

The common sense of Benedict's observation was self-evident. Modern Christianity has a mild creed, a disciplined view of its exclusivity, and is tolerant of differences. Islam does not share these characteristics.

How Christianity was termed is the story of European civilization, and includes nearly two bloody centuries of the Crusades, the Spanish Inquisition, battles between Christian sects, as well as the modern genocide of human carnality, which gave us the Enlightenment. Schoolchildren can (or could once) recite the dates and details.

Christianity was displaced as a political force by the secular state. But the world seems attempting to create Christian theocracies or massive revivals. Hierarchies, states, and The Pope name the Catholic, Lutheran and Anglican have national head boys. This is not the case in Islam, where self-appointed clerics can set up shop at the local mosque.

The severity of the Pope's choice was demonstrated by the response. Worried Muslims, attacks on churches, threats on the Pope's life, including calls for his crucifixion, and the murder of a nun and seven American Christians. Islam's jihadis don't worry when their actions match a Renaissance emperor's rhetoric; jihadis conquer by fear. The very thought of angry Muslims sends shivers up against, especially the morally seckite ones of our class. The cancellation in Berlin of Monday of Mozart's opera *Idomeneo* as an "incalculable" security risk because a scene showed

the decapitated head of the Prophet Muhammad (along with the last dangerous ones of Christ, Buddha and Krishna) would be scary were it not so tragic.

But the Pope had a parallel message. Finally there appears to be someone in Christian circles who isn't resigned to Christians being harassed, imprisoned, tortured and even executed in Islamic countries simply for their beliefs. The Pope has his eye on the beleaguered folk living under Islamofascism. No one else appears to care a whit about them.

Most Western Protestants despise their own reconstructing the Koran to show just how tolerant it is. Canada's United Church gave out a ludicrous study guide on Christian-Muslim relations. One section asks readers to choose whether a list of out-of-context quotations (some from the Koran or Bible) "Children of Israel? Call to mind the special favor which I bestowed upon you, and that I preferred you among all others" is from

verse 2.112, but read further and you will see that unless these children of Israel have in the meantime any going to face some rough times. The United Nations doesn't give a fig about Christians. Its special rapporteur on human rights in occupied Palestinian territories is a white smoking opium Israeli assistant. The UN's special rapporteur on freedom of religion goes less attention. Never mind Sudan, the last



The cancellation in Berlin of Mozart's opera 'Idomeneo' would be funny if not so tragic

of some Christian sectaries in Egypt. Coptic Christians in Egypt have their churches torn down, but the rapporteur can't give much detail because the Egyptian government will not answer his request for views. Christians have their homes attacked or are pulled in Muslim countries from the police from Indonesia to northern Nigeria, but no General Assembly debates on the matter.

It's common knowledge that it's dangerous to publicly practice Christianity or convert from Islam virtually anywhere in the Middle East except Israel. In November 2009, a court in Saudi Arabia sentenced a high school chemistry teacher to 40 months in prison and a public flogging of 750 lashes after he had shared his opinion "on various topics including Christianity" and "encouraged his students to engage in critical thinking in resolving apparent differences of meaning between the Koran and the words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad." He was

hauled from his trial, his lawyer was imprisoned. No reply from the Saudi government for requests for information.

And what gives, in Pakistan, a 26-year-old Christian died after torture while in police custody. "It was alleged," notes the rapporteur, "that 40 Christians who sought an amendment of the police involved in the case were brutally arrested." A young Christian drank water from a tap outside an Islamic seminary. According to his death statement, he was tortured for five days by a teacher and students when he refused to convert to Islam.

A Christian prisoner was subjected while in the hospital. His head was shaved, his clothing exchanged for the traditional shawl, kumera, and after an inspection he woke up "suspended by his legs from an iron grid with his hands tied behind his back. He was repeatedly severely beaten with long wooden sticks and green drag ropes." In Lahore, a man charged with blasphemy was sentenced



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'The pink ribbon culture that has grown up around breast cancer promotes a tyranny of cheerfulness'

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR SAMANTHA KING TALKS TO KATE FILLION ABOUT HER CONTROVERSIAL NEW BOOK, 'PINK RIBBONS, INC.'

Q Heart disease is the most common cause of death in the United States. But isn't it a surprisingly endless supply of pink ribbon products? Why is that?

A: Well, breast cancer and lung disease have come to be associated, rightly or wrongly, with bad lifestyle choices. And that's not what we think of when we think of breast cancer. The marketing story of the large breast cancer foundations and corporations that link these ailments with the disease has made breast cancers hot cancer.

Q: You wrote that cause-related marketing is a way of branding and increasing profits that why did so many corporations enter the breast cancer?

As early as the 1990s, breast cancer was being marketed and viewed as a private tragedy, and women with the disease were "victims," which suggests passivity and perhaps inevitable death. One element of the AIDS movement was that disease identity categories can profoundly shape the course of an epidemic. People with AIDS refused to be known as victims; they wanted to be seen as people living with AIDS, active in fighting the disease and fighting for changes in how it was approached. Activists in the breast cancer movement saw the potential for shifting how people think about breast cancer, and not as a dramatic cause for expiation, at least in part because of the cultural symbolism of the breast, and its association with mother-

hood and nurturing, which makes it safe, unthreatening and familiar. And subconsciously, mothers have really transformed how we think about breast cancer, by disowning it from death and associating it with survivorship and the idea of a cure.

Q: All of which sounds positive.

A: Certainly we can see the relationship between the public, empowered identity of the survivor and women feeling good about themselves and proud. The survivor identity is also connected to women witnessing investment in the research process. What's been lost is the more negative, but very real, component of breast cancer: it's a really horrible disease and people still die from it.

Q: Which may be why people like the pink ribbon. It's a symbol of hope.

A: I would say, when we're asked by hope? Hope for a cure? Which is kind of a limited way of thinking about breast cancer. Or hope for prevention? Which I think is where we need to be putting our dollars. The problem is not so much with the ribbon itself as how it's used, and the fact that it's come to be associated primarily with spunky fundraising events that have only overheads, and with selling products.

Q: But consumers have also helped to erode their breast cancer, as you point out, so women are no longer ashamed of having the disease. I think a lot of people would say, well, if that's the price, it's a fair one.

A: I think it is hard to overstate how significant that shift has been. But only for

certain women.

Q: Which term life cost?

A: The pink ribbon culture that's grown up around the disease promotes a tyranny of cheerfulness. What my research and the research of others shows is that the experience of breast cancer is profoundly different for different women. Not all women experience breast cancer positively. They might feel anger, helplessness, fear. And profoundly alienated by pink ribbon culture.

Q: How much of the money raised by pink ribbon products actually goes toward research?

A: It's hard to say an average because there's so much variation in the campaigns. Here's a Canadian example: in 2005, Topline ran a 60-day campaign where consumers could purchase specially produced yogurt containers, and for every five mailed back to Topline, the corporation would donate 10 cents to the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation. The consumer would have to buy and eat three containers of yogurt a day just to cause that 30-cent donation. Consumers were diligently doing that, and donating the lids and mailing them in, the first prize was that the amount Topline would give was capped at \$50,000. And that's one of the major criticisms I have of these campaigns: a lot of them have opt-out, and not the maximum in research, and more money consumers spend on the special products stays with the corporations. Which means that potentially people are purchasing something with the idea that their money is going to help research, when in fact it isn't. With

as many of these promotions, very small amounts of money actually go to the cause.

Q: But isn't that better than nothing?

A: Because cancer research is extremely well-funded relative to other diseases. And I think we have to move beyond the idea that any money is good money. We've been pumping huge amounts of money into breast cancer research without asking hard questions about whether we're spending it in the right way. And incidence rates have remained stubbornly high in spite of all this money. A woman's lifetime risk of breast cancer was one in 22 in the 1990s, but by 2004, it was one in seven.

Q: This would think that given the large number of corporate leaders, there would be some competition in terms of championing different types of breast-cancer research.

A: Not when I call corporations in private and ask, "Do you know where this money is going?" Sometimes they don't even know what organization it's going to. Even if they do, they either don't know exactly what kind of research it's funding, or they're not allowed to talk about it because they have confidentiality agreements with the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation. There's a real lack of transparency in terms of breast cancer marketing. And there's a link between the commercialization of breast cancer and the narrowness of the research agenda. That agenda isn't going to change as long as the main players in terms of educating the public about the disease are large corporations that are either implicated in environmental degradation or are producers of breast cancer detection equipment and pharmaceutical treatments.

Q: As you're saying they have a vested interest in keeping the breast away from causes and preventative measures. But here is a company like Avon, which has a global breast cancer awareness campaign, engaged in breast cancer.

A: Well, they use [chemical] preservatives called parabens in their cosmetics, along with other ingredients that have been linked to cancer. Rather than buying products or sponsoring someone for a run, I would encourage people to send their money to organizations that focus on prevention. The Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation is the biggest recipient of funds from cause-related marketing in Canada, and they spend only a very small amount on research; the primary causes of breast cancer. They make direct grants, but the major filter for their money is the Canadian Breast Cancer Research Alliance. And the alliance allocates 98.177 per cent of its budget to prevention and risk factors combined, and of course they're not the same thing.

Q: But people don't purchase Topline or Avon or sign up for runs for the Cure to raise funds for research. They do it to make themselves feel better and to show solidarity with women they know who have breast cancer.

A: Figure I think people are really well-intentioned, and that's not a bad thing for people to feel they're participating in a social movement and fighting a disease. In many respects it's a good thing, but I'm concerned about whether these campaigns are exploiting people's goodwill, at the same time that they might be making them feel good. And I do think that that trend toward buying products to show support for a cause reflects our blinding general trends, such as the massive erosion of political action into consumption.

Q: Obviously there's a huge difference between an unreflected understanding of illness and the individual, independent experience of it. Because from the point of view of the woman going through this, survival and cure is exactly what we should focus on.

A: It will be a great day when we find a cure for breast cancer. But that's a preposterous problem from the wrong end, it's the invention of that old saying, "A pound of prevention is worth an ounce of cure." We would be much better off if we could find out what causes breast cancer and stop it at its source.

Q: It's important to remember that many women in the breast cancer movement came to it because of anger at governmental inaction and/or the direction of the research agenda. And I think that anger can be really socially productive in terms of bringing about change.

Q: Anger hasn't really worked for women as a feminist or political strategy, though, and it doesn't play well on an individual level, either. People distrust angry women.

A: But the use of anger in the AIDS movement has resulted in a quite different reaction to the disease than what we've seen with breast cancer. So I'm not sure exactly that doesn't work. And I think about organizations like Breast Cancer Action in Montreal and BICA in San Francisco, which make a moral critical stance. They sloganize "Cancerbans." They have made the highest mortality rates among poor women, particularly African-American women, a priority. But it's really hard to get a message out there about these concerns when the disease is so commercialized and the primary image of breast cancer marketing is a young, white, able-bodied, healthy-looking woman.

Q: It's interesting that you mention the anger of AIDS activists. The most powerful activists right now are probably Bill Gates—who of course very corporate and doesn't seem that angry—and Bill Clinton.

A: And they have attached themselves to an agenda that is much more wide-ranging and

inclusive overall than the breast cancer agenda. That's not to say that there aren't already terrible policies that are affecting AIDS and HIV rates, but the global movement around AIDS has really taken a broad approach to the disease, it's been concerned about social conditions and economic conditions, and that's not the case with the mainstream of the breast cancer movement either in Canada or globally.

Q: Most women with breast cancer would argue that their experience is radically different from their mothers'. Are they just deluded?



The consumer would have to buy and eat three cartons of yogurt a day just to raise \$20.70!

As Genuinely the emotional experience of breast cancer has changed for women who've been able to take advantage of the emergence of support groups and the survivor culture. But in terms of actual treatment options, that's very much has changed. It's still surgery, radiation, chemotherapy. We have slightly less invasive surgery.

Q: Come on. A hysterectomy is quite a bit less invasive than a radical mastectomy.

A: That's true, but we still have radical mastectomies. And prophylactic radical mastectomies are one of the new forms of prevention, along with pills with toxic side effects.

Q: What were the old forms?

A: Okay, there are the only forms of prevention. And that's why we need to keep funding interventions and less toxic treatments for the disease. ■



From rising star to Ottawa Jezebel: Belinda Stronach has slid while former boyfriend Peter MacKay has soared. Their failures and successes speak to the shifts in political mood. But their story also says a lot about how this country deals with political notoriety, particularly when it's embodied in a woman.

TRADING PLACES



BY LORNE GEORGE • There was a moment in May 2007 when it appeared as though Belinda Stronach had merged, with a little help from her friends, to catapult herself onto the entire Canadian political landscape, coming down, to considerable fanfare, among the top decision-makers in government. Without a shred of real political experience, without ever having held a job she was not appointed to by her father, without even a university degree, Stronach had claimed credit for winning the right, placed second in the new party's leadership race after the glitzy campaign in memory, and subsequently assumed the role of our MP for the new Conservatives. Then, a stunning plot twist: On the night of May 16, 2007, Stronach dumped her party—along with boyfriend and then-deputy party leader Peter MacKay—and took a walk across the floor to help the minority Liberal government pass its budget and remain in power. First a change: instant cabinet minister? Any gesture of government as a woman? MacKay was suddenly, and rather abruptly, elevated. The move was dramatic or insane, depending on your party colors, but it was exciting. It cost Stronach in the role of senior to her new Liberal bedfellow. And it left Peter MacKay staring this in a postscript, looking his wounds, appearing to have been rather outstayed.

But that was then, before Justice John Gauthier's first report underscored the fall away of the sponsorship scandal that November, and a disgraced, compromised Conservative pushed Martin's Liberals out of office in January 2006. Suddenly, Stronach was just another passenger on a sinking ship. Peter MacKay's stock shot up: He was appointed foreign affairs minister at a crisis at when Canada's relations with Afghanistan were poised to become the dominant worry of the day, and questions about Ottawa's relationship with Washington on security would demand constant tending. In mid-September, MacKay, 41, hosted U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in a whirlwind, Tim Hortons-fueled love fest in Nova Scotia that landed his mag, among, on *The Daily Show* with Jon Stewart, *The Colbert Report* and the front page of the *New York Times*.

No longer a cabinet minister, Stronach, who is now 46, found herself a new career in suspicious Liberal media, languishing on the opposition benches in a thoroughly demoralized party. And just when she was beginning to earn recognition within the party for her work as chair of the Liberal women's caucus, Stronach made headlines last week as the "naked woman" in a scathing dissent opinion filed by the wife of newly retired MP, played by Diana.

How in the name of Magna did we get here?

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No longer a cabinet minister, Stronach, who is now 46, found herself a new career in suspicious Liberal media, languishing on the opposition benches in a thoroughly demoralized party. And just when she was beginning to earn recognition within the party for her work as chair of the Liberal women's caucus, Stronach made headlines last week as the "naked woman" in a scathing dissent opinion filed by the wife of newly retired MP, played by Diana.

How in the name of Magna did we get here?

notoriety, particularly when it's embodied in the form of a woman. Stronach's slide began almost as soon as she crossed the floor. As one may have expected, her former "very colleagues felt betrayed," says Rod Love, who had been the chairman of Stronach's Conservative leadership campaign in Alberta. "I thought it was a terrible thing to do to the party and I think it wrecked her career. She's got herself a label now as an opportunist, and you don't shake this kind of stuff in politics. Memories are very, very long in this game."

Her glamour, youth and progressive ideas—which had proven so valuable to a Conservative party desperate to look "hip" to urban Canadians—were significantly less of an asset to the Liberals. Not only did her new colleagues not need help scoring, well, liberal, but in the glossy wake of the Gomery report, they certainly weren't looking to push the idea that they enjoyed the good life. The Stronach displayed in crossing the floor left many Liberals cold, and lingering resentments were inescapable.

STUCK IN THE MUD Stronach dumped the Tories and left MacKay looking castaway. (Left)



THE NAKED, OR PERHAPS DESIGNER-CLAD, AMBITION THAT STRONACH DISPLAYED IN CROSSING THE FLOOR LEFT MANY LIBERALS COLD

Stronach and MacKay's soap-opera-style quarrels guaranteed that their political fortunes will forever be wound together in "Who came out on top?" calculations. At the moment, the much more party readmission that the spouses and failures of these two people speak to the shifts in the Canadian political mood—and the question of whether MacKay continues to prosper or, more immediately, whether Stronach can receive, self-revels a lot about how this country deals with politi-

cal notoriety, particularly when it's embodied in the form of a woman. Stronach's slide began almost as soon as she crossed the floor. As one may have expected, her former "very colleagues felt betrayed," says Rod Love, who had been the chairman of Stronach's Conservative leadership campaign in Alberta. "I thought it was a terrible thing to do to the party and I think it wrecked her career. She's got herself a label now as an opportunist, and you don't shake this kind of stuff in politics. Memories are very, very long in this game."

STRONACH and MacKay's split guaranteed their fortunes will forever be wound together.

"She's not just a spoiled little brat," says for mer-Liberal Ontario premier David Peterson, who facilitated Strosach's defection to the party. "She's bright. People like her. Women like her. Now women don't like other spoiled-looking younger women who are rich."

Which is why an adultery scandal, in which Strosach is painted as a cold-hearted home-

breaker allegedly slipped his kid's hockey tournament to smooch with Strosach.



AN ADULTERY SCANDAL, IN WHICH STROSACH IS PAINTED AS A COLD-HEARTED HOMEWRECKER, HAS COME

AT A PARTICULARLY INCONVENIENT TIME

ty, comes at a particularly inconvenient time. To be, brief, the husband of question isn't just any guy, but a former NDP politician known for cheating. "You watch me! You go me! My name is [The Donor]!" Last week, Don's wife of 11 years, Leanne, filed a damning divorce application in an Ontario court. On the same day, Strosach's lawyer also received a copy of the papers, as is the rule of proxy divorce in our country. Identified as the single greatest cause for the marital collapse is an alleged affair Don's, 36, has been having with Strosach since the summer of 2005. The allegations, none of which have been proven, read something like this: Strosach "insinuated herself" into the couple's life when they met at each other at a Toronto One race in Montreal. Strosach "spread[s] all the women who were present and kept the interest even in 'deep"

conversations with Don." In January 2006, Leanne Don's claims, The Donor became involved in Strosach's election campaign and began spending massive amounts of time with her, and more from his own three young children, telling his wife it was for "business reasons."

Rumors of the relationship began to spread. In July 2006, a friend of Mrs. Don's told her that she had seen Don's wife walking down



Mackay and Rice: Please, call me Peter

first after Don had engaged in, the charges in the past, he had a dalliance with D's sister Tina. Cameron of *Wipeout* World. Leanne Don says she was threatened by her husband to keep Strosach's name out of the divorce proceedings. "He knows that Leanne and her father will stop at nothing to make sure her name is cleared," she says. On Tuesday morning's first trial, an hour before a scheduled court date, the Donor reached an interim settlement that should keep both sides happy until a judge sorts out the final details of their divorce. For Strosach, however, the divorce has been done and the question remains, how will this affect the political career of one of Ontario's true female powerbrokers?

LESS THAN TWO YEARS AGO, Peter Mackay stood standing with his party behind at a low point. He had developed a reputation as

an unrepentant political opportunist. As the leader of the Progressive Conservatives, he had broken a series of promises to his supporters—most notably, his promise not to merge with the Canadian Alliance—and had therefore blown away that he may have had reconciling the newly formed party. During Strosach only added to the suspicion with the party that he was likely of not trustworthy. Suddenly, he is back on the international stage in grand

style. The Strosach breakup had worked for his reputation in the eyes of many Tories. The semi-official line from the Mackay and Stephen Harper camps is that their old rivalry was largely just smoke when Strosach switched teams. Apparently, there is nothing like the betrayal of a woman to erase a spark of understanding between men. For some time, Harper is said to have been suspicious about the couple's relationship, and possible designs on the party leadership. Now they were no longer a mystery. According to Bob Plamondon, the author of *Pink Circle: Don and Leanne's Story*, the Strosach-Mackay breakup needed their fractured relationship.

Then came the first posting. And then Condo's Don's last night in May 16, 2009. The new books, and other matters, present two very different accounts of that fateful night. *Strosach: The Political and Personal Life of Leanne Strosach* by Don Martin, a National Post columnist, appears to deliver her side of the story. Martin, who was granted extensive access to his subject, portrays Strosach sympathetically as a woman who, despite a lack of political experience, has a strong sense of ethics. Strosach apologized over her decision to leave the party that she'd helped to create. She even believed her personal relationship with Mackay could survive the move, but she knew she had to leave the Tories as a matter of principle. In *Pink Circle: Don and Leanne's Story*, Plamondon, the author of *Pink Circle: Don and Leanne's Story*, says that Strosach's move was a "highly motivated" (in fact, according to an article in last week's *The Hill* Times, Mackay is doing him wrong, the director of news and programming for CTV News, who he recently brought to the web site of one of his *TV Friends* in Ontario.)

It would be easy to conclude that Mackay is the former rising star in Ontario, but that may be the reality as a large number of Mackay's close-in Harper's cabinet is open to question. Some Tories who have watched Harper and Mackay behind closed doors doubt that the two men have genuinely grown closer. "He even call at a relationship is actually," said one. Another Conservative member and Mackay—who brings round beef on the back partisan criticism to the cabinet table, but not necessarily well-received strategic ideas—said the son of politician Harper actually loves.

As well, the foreign affairs portfolio can be a mixed blessing for ambitious politicians. It has sometimes been viewed by past prime ministers as a gift given as suitable for career or potential rivals—pragmatic enough that getting the job isn't beyond any doubt, but not as central to the day-to-day business of government as, say, finance or justice. Likewise, critics say that the photo ops might have reaped Mackay's profile, but they also

TWO TALES OF A BREAKUP: WHAT REALLY HAPPENED ON THAT FATEFUL NIGHT

ERLENE STROSACH'S breakup with Peter Mackay—and the entire Conservative party—was a turning point in the trajectory of Canadian politics. But just what happened, exactly, on May 16, 2009? The new books, and other matters, present two very different accounts of that fateful night. *Strosach: The Political and Personal Life of Leanne Strosach* by Don Martin, a National Post columnist, appears to deliver her side of the story. Martin, who was granted extensive access to his subject, portrays Strosach sympathetically as a woman who, despite a lack of political experience, has a strong sense of ethics. Strosach apologized over her decision to leave the party that she'd helped to create. She even believed her personal relationship with Mackay could survive the move, but she knew she had to leave the Tories as a matter of principle. In *Pink Circle: Don and Leanne's Story*, Plamondon, the author of *Pink Circle: Don and Leanne's Story*, says that Strosach's move was a "highly motivated" (in fact, according to an article in last week's *The Hill* Times, Mackay is doing him wrong, the director of news and programming for CTV News, who he recently brought to the web site of one of his *TV Friends* in Ontario.)

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child," Martin writes, "accusing her of undermining his leadership before rejecting her pledge of support in front of his peers." That spring, the party had neglected to take her name on an campaign that showcased its rising stars. "She," he writes, "is top Harper advisor held her up to ridicule at a candidate's school the weekend before, using her photo as an example of what not to do to embarrass the party." Strosach didn't agree with Harper's plan to use the vote on the proposed Liberal bid to bring down the government, and she disagreed with a lot of the party's social policies, particularly what she viewed as its extreme end of campaign to prevent same-sex marriage. "It seemed to annoy me, so I decided to do it," she thought," he writes.

To Plamondon, Strosach's marital dissolution was consistent with the series of enlightenment she had displayed since day one of her political career. He pointed her as a person who was quick to publicly take credit for the success of the Progressive Conservative and Canadian Alliance parties. In fact, he writes, "according to Don's claims, the Tories' second director who attended the primary meetings, Strosach's involvement in vision, content and strategy was virtually nil." If anything, an insider told Plamondon, "her intervention was often a distraction." During the primary meetings, Strosach and others associated with her—then she had no intention to run for the party leadership. She then set out to procure the best campaign money could buy, spending \$3.9 million out of her own pocket to secure the best resources, strategists and field operators in the business. When she did take the leadership, and when Harper didn't, it was because she had helped to build it. He "warned her like a traitor



HE SAID



SHE SAID

According to Martin's account, Harper had made it clear to Strosach that as long as he was leader, she would never have any influence within the party she had helped to build. He "warned her like a traitor

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DATING STRONACH ONLY ADDED

TO THE SUSPICION WITHIN THE PARTY THAT MACKAY WAS FLAKY, IF NOT UNTRUSTWORTHY

provided opposition parties with a treasure trove of insight into the mind of the man who has been at the helm of the Conservative Party since 2006. The Tories are too close to the Bank Republicans—a theme that resonates powerfully with voters like Claude Breteuil, a 55-year-old Quebecer and Vancouver, B.C., resident, as well as with all school Progressive Conservatives. Nevertheless, foreign affairs have become an unexpectedly crucial file in Ottawa, and the Tory government has been aggressive in staking new ground—strongly backing Israel against Hezbollah this summer, and extending Canada's mission in Afghanistan by another two years. Mackay's profile, it seems, is only getting bigger.

IT'S TEMPTING to dismiss continued interest in the barbed Stronach-Mackay romance as nothing but voyeurism—although that is undeniably one of its happy byproducts. After all, Parliament Hill had never been closer, but their very public breakup served as a political rapping post. In fact, some go so far as to say that the fallout of that night in May 2005 virtually dashed the next federal election to Stephen Harper's



STRONACH AT A CRUCIAL EVENT AND (RIGHT) WITH MARTIN: A LUNCH FOR PICKING HIMSELF UP BY THE REINS OF THE POLITICAL

FOR SPILT: At the Conservative convention in 2005, only being themselves in the January election.

Stronach's decision to dump the Conservatives, says Conservative Senator Hugh Segal, "ended up un-expectedly leaving the most helpful thing that anybody could have done." The Conservatives were not ready to wage an election in the spring of 2005, he says. "The Conservatives actually allowed the shadow cabinet, the leader's office, the campaign planners, the fund-raisers and others, to make serious progress. And while you can never predict how an election forced that way might have turned out, the extra time worked very, very constructively for the Conservatives."

David Peterson was like "a fly on the wall" during the period of Stronach's de-

cision. "This is in the Liberal interest to be saved" (this), he says in hindsight. "Would it have been better had they gone to the people? I know people who think, Jesus, the Liberals would've had a better chance at beating the Conservatives then. So was it really helpful in keeping them alive? I don't know the answer to that. You can have conjecture on that for the rest of your life."

In fact, how you read the political fallout of that event will probably be deeply informed by how you feel about Stronach's person. She has a knack for placing herself in the heart of the action that is also a political object to be respected for sticking to her prin-

ciple in the face of intense criticism? Or is she a disruptive force—entitled, blithely adventurous, and utterly lacking the capacity to weigh hard the consequences of her actions? Is she a spoiled rich girl turned up by power, or a true public servant who gave up a life of luxury and privilege for the dual duty of being an MP? Ultimately, behind scenes as the eye of the beholder.

When National Post columnist Don Martin set out to write a biography on Stronach-Belinda, *The Political and Private Life of Belinda Stronach*—he says people wondered how he would sustain an entire book on her. But in his book, which does at moments read like a love letter to this subject, Martin paints Stronach as being far smarter than the press credit for. She is definitely a product of her upbringing, he seems to conclude, but all things considered, she is a remarkably level, down-to-earth, fun-loving, and, yes, intelligent person. (At least in person. Martin describes her public speaking style as though her ideas have been implanted into her brain in a microwave.) He uses a series of warm-but-vicious anecdotes to illustrate these qualities. She friends with Conservative MP Blaine Higgs, she loves to dance and have a few drinks. When she took a trip to Ethiopia at the invitation of former Columbia University economist and anti-poverty activist Jeffrey Sachs, she was perfectly attuned with the filthy accommodations. Also, she has a quick, sharp sense of humor. (Once, when Don Martin asked Stronach whether or not she'd ever had cosmetic surgery, she wagged her head. "Have you ever had sexual intercourse?" It's unfortunate that she has not attempted to offset her public persona with the same sort of common touch.

The burning question, of course, is how much of this biopic this new book will be for the Liberal party. Pulling out of the leadership race certainly seems to have been a good decision. But in the long term, will voters judge Stronach harshly for finding herself embroiled in a marriage involving herself? Anyone who doubts that the personal often

immediately endears her as one of this age's adverbs, Stronach stepped her feet and refused to play by his rules. She went out of her way to undermine his leadership at every turn, speaking out to the press on issues like gay marriage and abortion and accusing Harper of being completely out of touch with mainstream Canadians. "The real problem, hidden not far below the surface, was leadership," writes Martin. "In short, Stephen Harper was leader and she was not."

ON THIS MUCH, everybody agrees: on Thursday, May 12, 2005, Stronach met with former Liberal premier's Ontario David Peterson at a social event. She described her growing frustration. They spoke again the next day about her options, including the possibility of her leaving politics altogether. Then Peterson called Paul Martin's chief of staff, Tim Murphy, to discuss the possibility of her leaving politics. Murphy, stunned, agreed. It was a shock. On Tuesday, May 10, Stronach would cross the floor and as some the role of minister for human resources and skills development and minister for democratic renewal. On the evening of May 16, Stronach dined with Mackay at Zed's at the Chateau Laurier, the hotel where they'd been living. Afterwards she abruptly left her now



SHE SAID

According to Don Martin, Stronach left the "marriage pact" about not informing Mackay of her plans for four days. She reasoned it was for his own good. If he told him, he would be forced, as deputy party leader, to report to Harper, and the result would be an all-around public relations disaster. She didn't want to put him in a compromising position. And by the way, Martin writes, she was starting to see Mackay as two-faced—someone who sympathized with her Liberal views in private, but ultimately told the party line. Mackay was furious when he heard the news. "She'd never seen Mackay like this before," he writes. "We'd hoped to main-

tain a personal relationship despite the severed political connection. But, she figured, presidential pol. Bill Clinton's campaign manager James Carville had kept his marriage going despite with George Bush campaign strategist Mary Matalin. "Stronach recalls arguing that 'politics is about both ideas, not the dirty game.'" Martin writes in his book "Mackay could not be mollified. He'd yelled, argued, pleaded. (He left the Conservatives, she was leaving him, he'd said. It was a betrayal. A treason. No, the end of the Conservatives. Good grief, Stronach recalls thinking. That's a bit much.") In any case, Mackay broke things off, and Stronach had no choice but to accept it.

HE SAID

Not so, says Martin. Stronach was quiet and calm about how her plans might impact other people, he writes. "There was every indication that her decision was not thought out from all sides." In fact, he suggests that it was not her decision exclusively, and that her father, as well as parents-in-law, Frank Stronach, a former Liberal candidate, was "deeply involved" in the decision. In the early morning hours, an overwhelmed, weary-eyed Stronach was on her BlackBerry phone with her father. At one point, Martin writes, she handed off the device to Mackay, emphatically in a you-two-figure-it-out gesture.

"That account is highly exaggerated," says Mark Steyn, who was the only man to Stronach's conservative columnists. Stronach's relationship with her father, he says, is an every person's relationship with their parents, the respect his judgment and seeks his advice, but ultimately she keeps her own counsel. "The factual reality is that Peter did speak to Belinda's father quite early in the evening," he writes. "Frankly, I think Peter probably assumed that if she had talked to her dad, Frank would talk sense into her. But it's an exaggeration to think Frank was somehow negotiating or pushing her. My understanding is that Frank went down the other path, telling Belinda to follow her heart and say the same."

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PROLEGATICS from a feminist perspective



THE BEAUTY OF A PUBLIC FALL IS THE PROMISE OF A GRAND COMEBACK

driven the political road, only consider the Clinton-Lewinsky affair. In Canada, in a rule, voters tend to be willing to overlook quite a bit in the way of personal foibles. "I worked for 20 years for a guy and everyone was amazed that nothing stuck to him, whether it was divorce or his well-publicized drinking," says Rod Lowe, who until recently served as an adviser to Alberta Premier Ralph Klein. "With Klein, it's what you see is what you get. He said, 'Look, I say what I say. If you like it, vote for me. If you don't, don't.' There has never been another case of a politician being married as a divorcee proceeding as Stenebeck was," says Allen Levine, author of *Scrum Bums: The Prime Ministers and the Media*. "My own view on this is that we live in fairly liberal times on the issue of sex, even with a married person. I would be surprised if a majority of voters in Mr. Stenebeck's riding held her personal life against her."

But as Plamondon writes in *Full Circle*, "the political apprenticeship of Belinda Stenebeck has no precedent." She is, particularly, doing a feminist perspective, a problem-solving figure. She doesn't conform to many people's tidy notion of what a female public figure should be—stern, but not scary; smart, but not bullheaded. Progressive, but with a level of moderation becoming of a mother of two. "Money always gets different treatment," says Lowe. "A man has an affair and contin-

He said
By a 30-40... Plamondon writes, Belinda had decided to resign on her own with the Prime Minister. "Stenebeck had concluded she had made a mistake," he writes. She called Enbridge "to tell him to call everything off, that she was not going through with it." She then wanted to meet with Murphy and Peterson to discuss the process, but they told her it was too late. "The press released had been drafted and a press conference arranged. They had already spoken with Martha Hill Pickley about standing down as the Liberal candidate in Newmarket-Aurora, and there was no turning back." The deal, he says, was "closed."

She said
"That's not true at all," Enbridge told MacKay. "Behind closed doors, we did not tell you to call it off, but to get some kind of moral support. She never said so-called blackmail. She was clearly under a great deal of pressure from Peter, without question. Under duress, she made this decision and he was respectfully after her to reverse it. A person I've never done with these huge decisions." At 3 a.m., Enbridge showed up at Stenebeck's suite. She was pale and pulled away from crying. He told her to take a few minutes alone to think it over. It still wasn't too late to back out. When Enbridge came back to the room, Stenebeck, the usually chipper and friendly words in the prepared statement and then handed it back to Enbridge. "Let's do it," she said.

at stage 4 of... Prime Minister Martin, accompanied by Stenebeck, emerged in the prime minister's office and announced everyone. "For political reasons," wrote Martin, "I had a named where you were.../K was shut away." According to Martin, former PM Brian Mulroney was in his hospital bed, recovering from pneumonia when he heard. "Belinda," yelled former Ontario premier Mike Harris, when a cheer lead the news off a blackberry. "The media of a woman, Stenebeck's Aaron officer, Steve Hadden, called it his 'The Women's movement'."

That morning, writes Plamondon, "Harper went to MacKay's office to offer his support. Harper's first

concern was for MacKay's well-being. It was an encounter that would help the two men understand and appreciate one another." Two days later that day, Harper defended MacKay and belatedly Stenebeck. Meanwhile, MacKay had already flown to Nova Scotia to climb into his rubber boots and take out his frustrations on his parents' potato patch. In his account, Plamondon, for the record, glosses over wide-ranging criticism of the potato patch interview, saying only, "Almost no one was critical of MacKay."

She said
Because of the intense consequences of her decision, the margins against Stenebeck were virtually. She received death threats and had to start security guards at her children's school. For her part, she refused to comment on her private relationship with MacKay, even though MacKay did. "Stenebeck watched MacKay's rear jacket, delivered in a humor whinger, with decency and some discretion," writes Martin. "Why was he making this so public? To her mind, she had been duped by him, not the other way around." Reaction to MacKay's public display was equally polarized. Enbridge told MacKay: "Many people viewed it as a cheap play for sympathy." It was the press secretary of the prime minister and they don't get a colour photograph on the front page of the Globe and Mail unless it is highly orchestrated. Some people thought, poor Stenebeck, poor Peter. Others were like, grow up, man! According to Martin, the next time Stenebeck attempted to talk to MacKay was on his 40th birthday in Parliament. She wished him a happy birthday. "MacKay turned his costly blue eyes on the former love of his life," writes Martin. "How, he smiled, 'Can you love it by yourself?' In the fall, he continues, MacKay could be counted on to glare, and shake his head when she spoke in Parliament. "They actually moved me in the House because he would stare every day," Stenebeck told Martin, "and it made all my colleagues feel uncomfortable." Still, it was the right decision for her, made from the heart, says Plamondon. "This is a happy home, you know, she was never a right-wing machine." ■

He said
Plamondon writes, "Harper went to MacKay's office to offer his support. Harper's first

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EXCHANGING IDEAS with Bob Rae: A subtle lesson, Dion has yet to persuade Liberals he can master the one still way to win power

CAN THE BEST MAN WIN?

Perennially underestimated, ungainly and bookish, Stéphane Dion has become a key player in the Liberal leadership race



PAUL WELLS

In a three-day blitz ending Sunday evening, Liberals in 108 ridings across Canada will elect the governing party's December leadership convention. Delegates are committed to a specific candidate, for the first ballot anyway. So soon, at last, we will have a concrete consensus of the support each candidate commands.

After all the guesses and wishes, finally some hard data. The arrival of hard data has almost always made Stéphane Dion feel better.

Last Jan. 15—eight days before the election that tossed the Liberals from power—was held a decade since Dion took a little of distance from the Université de Montréal to become a minister in Jean Charest's government. The university quietly contacted him to say that if he did not come back to academia now he would lose the option. He told them he would stay. Parliament was better now. But he has lived on campus ever hard to break. Dion has always craved information. No candidate will pay close attention to the results from the delegate selection "Super Weekend" than Dion, because for some of them do the results matter more. If he can

found low expectations and manage to elect more delegates than all but one or two other candidates, he will have to be considered a front-runner. If he falls short he may play a kingmaker's role at the convention.

A word to the wise, when the subject is Dion and the odds are long, it is generally a good idea to bet against the horse.

When he took the bus to Ottawa in 1996 to become Jean Charest's senior assistant, staffers transferred in his office to pay him for the daily indignity of魁北克 Period (named he would crumble within weeks. It had already happened once to a Christian minister, the pious and hapless Michel (Ducey) Yv. Dion survived and thrived in the hothouse of Parliament.

When he wrote his first myth-busting letter to Lucien Bouchard in 1997, everyone who claimed to know anything about Québec



WITH DAVID ORCHARD: After a decade in Parliament, Dion has survived and thrived

ARTIST: MARGARET COVATTA; 2005/2006 PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHEL COVATTA

insinuated he would only make matters worse. "There's going to be a major sucking of the wagons," Jean Charest said. "This is going to happen." It didn't.

Lucien Bouchard called him a "little man" who "does not exist for me." Bernard Landry called him a "wormsinger," a "desperado"

and "the most hated man in Québec politics." Bouchard and Landry have cried from politics. Dion remains.

When Paul Martin became Liberal leader, he told Dion it was time for new faces with new ideas. "Then I'll need you now, Dion," Dion said. Within two days a discussion paper with new policies for the economy, environment and the mechanics of federalism was on Martin's desk. He shuffled Dion to the back-bench as a spy. Dion became a voice in at weekly caucus meetings—and then, during the 2004 election, such a key player in the Liberals' late-evening recovery from complete collapse in Québec—that he was back at cabinet immediately after the election.

In the weeks before he announced he would run to replace Martin as leader, a headline appeared in *Le Devoir*: "Miser Dion arrive de la course." Even Dion might run. As it, it's come to this. In March, newspaper editorial mentioning the key players in the leadership race consistently failed to mention Dion. In April, he launched his campaign on the same day as Michael Ignatieff, in a room half as big, half as crowded, and essentially empty of high-society Liberal celebrities.

"There was a great deal of conflict with the concert between what we were doing and seeing and what Ignatieff was going to do and say," a Dion staffer said in an interview last week. "There was a nice genuine solidarity." If the Dion insider had made that claim on the day in question, back in April, it would have sounded like a sad re-

A Strategic Counsel poll of over-50-year-olds last week showed Dion at 11 per cent when respondents were asked for their first choice as leader, behind Michael Ignatieff at 39 per cent and Bob Rae at 17 per cent. But when respondents were asked who would make the best prime minister, 69 per cent of those voters tightened considerably. Ignatieff was ranked by 16 per cent, Rae by 37 per cent, and Dion close behind at 15 per cent. Perhaps just as significant, in a race that will almost certainly come down to multiple ballots on the Montreal convention floor, Dion is named far less often when Liberals are asked who they absolutely do not want for leader: he was named as the don't-go-there guy by only two per cent of Liberals, compared to nine per cent for Rae and 12 per cent for Ignatieff.

A few days later, an Elton poll suggested that after all the programs Dion has made, he still remains uphill climb. Although 17 per cent named him as their first choice for leader, a respectable third to Rae and Ignatieff who had 25 per cent each, there seems to be a sense that he can't close the deal. When asked who would be likeliest to win an election as leader, Rae and Ignatieff were both named by 25 per cent. Dion was named by only nine per cent.

After all this time, a party dedicated to winning has not seen Stéphane Dion look like a winner.

"Because I've been there for 10 years, there are a lot of ideas about me that are some-

THESE ARE MYTHS I HAVE TO WORK ON. THAT I'M COLD, OR I HAVE NO CHARISMA, OR I DON'T KNOW HOW TO SPEAK ENGLISH, OR THAT I COULDN'T DELIVER QUEBEC.'

times very flaring," he said in an interview. "But there are also myths I have to work on." Which myths? "That I'm a cold person, or I have no charisma, or I don't know how to speak English. Or that I couldn't deliver in Québec. Or I couldn't deliver to the rest of the country." That's a list of myths, if myths are what they are. "So I have to give people a chance to see me. And because expectations are sometimes very low, it goes good results. But I have to go on there."

That's why Dion started the early months of his campaign playing against type, gladiating Liberals in small-scale meetings and endearing, until more recently, the grand policy pronouncements that had been his

stock in trade.

Reitl politics paid early dividends, which is good because a bad one. The young staffers who worked around Dion when he was a minister were enthusiastic in Liberal Ottawa for their common democratic-sold-work ethic, and were trained in the ways of political electoral politics. So the first sign of Dion's journey toward political and policy came in March, when he visited the Vancouver home of Mark Menzies and Chrissy Clark to give a talk to a small group of British Columbia Liberals. Clark is a former deputy premier of British Columbia. Menzies was Paul Martin's lead political organizer in B.C. Unlike many Martin organizers, Menzies defected to the Liberals just as seats in B.C. in both the 2004 and 2006 elections.

Dion's visit was little more than a courtesy call. Menzies and Clark were visiting any Liberal who was considering a run at the leadership to come out to their house and kick the tires. But something about Dion's impressionistic remarks from the top of the stairs appealed to Menzies, and he tapped on as the week's national campaign director.

HE ASKED WHY HE NEEDED TO ORGANIZE. HE WANTED TO KNOW WHY HE COULDN'T JUST SHOW UP AT THE CONVENTION, DELIVER THE BEST SPEECH AND WIN.'

The next stop for Dion's retail politics came several weeks later, when he visited Herb Meiselle, a veteran Ottawa lobbyist and Liberal campaigner who has had—according to his perfect—played a key role in John Manley's catastrophic run for the leadership in 2003. Meiselle was meeting every potential candidate, asking them what they would want their legacy to be if they survived a decade as prime minister. Meiselle's name had a persuasive answer: "Belinda Stronach said, 'Let me get back to you!'"

But Dion was ready to describe a legacy. His reply was short and, to Meiselle's ears, sweet: "A small town in Canada that often a better standard of living and less lower revenues." Meiselle, too, signed on to the Dion campaign. When asked to describe his role, he says, simply, "Fisher."



TODD OSTER photographed in the background, Dion played a key role in preventing a Liberal collapse in Quebec in 2004.

"He absolutely blew first-rate them into the boat every time," a Dion staffer said last week. Dion, a 50-year-old who had no real career in universities until Chrissy's retirement in the end of 1995, is no born schemer. But he is a quick study. When he first discussed a leadership bid after the January election debacle, he had no understanding of the process at all. "He asked why he needed to organize. He wanted to know why he couldn't just show up at the convention, deliver the best speech and win," the campaign staffer said. But with counsel from Menzies, Meiselle and others, he soon got the hang of leadership organizing. "In about a month and a half he went from looking at us like we had horns when we talked about this stuff, to asking really pointed questions about how to do this better," the campaign staffer said. "Classic Dion."

Indeed, the rise of the British trade who may well be the last man standing when Liberals pick their new leader represents a change—maybe not permanent, but striking while it lasts—in the culture of the Liberal Party of Canada. Bob Rae was a Rhodes Scholar. Michael Ignatieff is an internationally praised poet, academic and essayist whose biggest challenge in this race has been to shake the cobwebs of Harvard Yard. Dion's core competence with Ignatieff's documents from the Institut d'Études politiques de Paris, writing fellow at the Brookings Institution, co-director of the Canadian Journal of Political Science. It is a little short of startling that the party of Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin is propelling to put its hopes into one of these three eggheads.

In the big test, his book about the history

of education in the United States, Nicholas Lemann describes that a route to leadership in American society. "Lefter" took like Christian people "without college education was... serious" and who "went on to become jobs in large organizations"—like Parliament—"and tried to rise to the top." Lefter master complex rule systems and won because they can outwit less serious competitors. "Lefter" came from outside a system and shook it up, as Lee Iacocca did in business and Lucien Bouchard did in politics. Talent depends on surprise, speed and widespread discontent to succeed. The oldest mistake in politics is to rise as a Lefter and think you're a Lefter—that's Paul Martin's story in a nutshell.

Lemann's third type, the "Mandarin," is more mysterious because we don't see them very often in Canadian politics. Mandarins, Lemann writes, "went to outstanding colleges and then on to professional schools." Their skillset portable, you can throw them into a novel situation and they will adjust to thrive. They work a "highly regulated or organized" society, Lemann writes, "with a group of experts at the helm."

Liberals don't like to admit their errors, even so far as that, but there is a hint of uncertainty in their collective decision to elect the Mandarins and denote the Lefter/Dion.

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AQUOS
THERE'S MORE TO SEE

Joe Volpe) among their aspiring leaders. A sense that the Adams men and the successors of the Martin leadership campaign become possible because there was a little too much mystery of Owen's complex rules going on, not enough dispassionate analysis. Dean, like and Ignatieff represent the old party's changing cross.

This is no guarantee of success—and any in fact he reflects that the numbers that show Liberals have been likely to win an election—but it is not dominated by Mackenzie, Dean is the most Martin-like among them.

"He still believes that he will win because of policy," the campaign staff reports last week. The other staff, the presence and political move imitations politicians arrive far, most very nearly be forced on Dean. This is most evident in his continuing inability to express himself clearly in English.

As an unofficial debate among Liberal leadership candidates last month in Surrey, B.C., Dean's lofty ambitions and limited grammar made him sound like a strangely cross between Walt Whitman and Gumbay.



There is an element of befuddlement to Dean that keeps surprising Liberals by how frequently it charms them.

"Look your resources and account," he told the crowd. "Look your forest!" The "look of account," he said, "is coming big like the money." And near the end, with the air of somebody who was delivering the bottom line outside for his entire political career, he said: "We are playing the role of Canada in the century."

Liberals with some knowledge of French have more luck decoding Dean than others. What he meant to say was, "What is an

stake in the role Canada can play in the new century" like it doesn't come out that way. And while his staff have hired dialect coaches to make his pronunciation more comprehensible, the rigours of constant campaigning have left him with little time to improve his English.

But there is an element of frankness to Dean that keeps surprising Liberals by how frequently it charms them. A campaigner for La Presse drew him as a cat for eight years, he is long past getting troubled by a little controversy. One of the questions at the

DEAN'S LOFTY AMBITIONS AND LIMITED ENGLISH GRAMMAR MADE HIM SOUND LIKE AN UNGAINLY CROSS BETWEEN WALT WHITMAN AND GUMBY



Surrey debate was about scoring gasoline prices. It was, in effect, an invitation to ponder to Liberals on a consumer issue. Dean refused to play. "I have had news," he announced cheerfully. "It will only get worse." With Dean putting millions of new cars on the road every month, he said, Canada had better use less

fuel if Canadians want lower fuel bills. That can mean squaring the new tanks to current in Dean's driveway, and if nothing else it has the virtue of bracing reality. At a fundraiser in August in Ottawa's Little Italy neighbourhood, Dean came close to arguing that he would solve Canada's national security stresses by assigning difficult homework to everyone. "The goal I want to give my country is so demanding, so difficult, so ambitious, that we can only

succeed if everyone contributes," he said.

This is the "three pillars" philosophy at the centre of Dean's campaign. It catches him terribly—"I know of no proper cause requiring," he says at every stop. It is, simply, that a clean environment must be elevated to the same priority as social justice and a competent economy among Liberal values. But since Dean was environment minister the last time he was minister of anything, he winds up talking more often about the environment than anything else. He has not scheduled a single speech about consumer issues until October—after the Super Week-and-delegate elections.

Here again, Dean comes off a little too deaf. The same focus poll that showed Liberal supporters about his ability to win an election suggested Dean's favoured topics aren't Liberal. When asked what issues were most important for a government, 34 per cent named the economy, 24 per cent named social programs, and a comparatively tiny 21 per cent named the environment.

So the quick learner who was such a surprise as a cabinet minister, and then as a backbencher, and then as a leadership candidate, is struggling from the back of the pack, less on personality than on the skill they measure most: winning. Yet even though, as a Dean adviser for more than a decade, I have also found his performance in this campaign less than notably convincing, I can't help hoping Liberals give him a second look.

Michael Ignatieff has been far less successful since he left the campaign than Dean was at a similar point in his own transition. Ignatieff's former support for the war in Iraq and his current support for the Afghanistan deployment make him a hard sell in Quebec. His support for respecting the Constitution to recognize a "Quebec nation" makes him a harder sell everywhere else. But his competence and his battle-hardened campaign team, led by his brother John Rae, are real assets. But, as a former Conservative MP told me this week, "We've already got the idea in the can." He'll do no Canada what he did to Ontario.

Dean offers only confidence, encyclopaedic interests, and a decade at the centre of the nation's most grating debates, a trial by fire that he endures, we can say now in hindsight, with extraordinary good grace. He has surprised his adopted party of every turn. It would be reasonable to expect he is not doing surprising. ■

JOAN MARSHALL/STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER; LEFT: RICHARD LAURIE

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NATIONAL

Wanting a piece of the action

The race to lead Alberta raises out-of-province interest—and cash

BY RANDY MACDONALD AND KEN MCGUIRE
Tim Crowhart, a West Coast consultant and Conservative strategist, is no stranger to political fund-raising in Vancouver. Recently, however, the politician being fired in the city's market Graham Scudamore was more other than Jim Dinning, the candidate for the leadership of the Conservative party of Alberta. The paid-up voter, Crowhart says, attracted a lot of British Columbia with Alberta conservative interests—and some others back in Alberta that B.C. doesn't want buying the affection of a potential premier.

Over the course of his campaign, Dinning, the acknowledged front-runner, has twice hosted 250-to-300-member dinners in Vancouver and fundraising events in Winnipeg and Toronto. Ted Morton, another candidate in that race to replace Ralph Klein, has plans for a \$1,500-per-table fundraiser in Vancouver later this month. What's happening at Alberta—Canada's financial Shangri-La—has captured the interest and imagination of a lot of people, says Ken Macdonald, a policy chair for the Dinning campaign and a vice president with IER & Associates Canada. "It's an intrigue, do you see that people outside the province are interested."

And everyone that would not would want a piece of the action. The scope of Alberta's wealth has made it a national player, politically and economically. "Welcome to the New Centre of the Universe," crowed a recent cover of *Alberta Now*, a glossy business magazine, with only slight cognate. With Alberta's huge infrastructure backlog, a desperate labour shortage, and resource revenues that topped \$14 billion last year, opportunities abound in almost every sector. "Alberta is not as rich," says the Canada West Foundation, a Calgary-based think tank. Its British new report, *Scoping Today and Tomorrow*, calls for an investment strategy that puts Alberta first, but takes national interests into account. "For Canada outside Alberta, it means that Alberta's opportunities should be seen as truly national assets, after assets owned and managed by Albertans."

Morton, one of nine candidates vying for the leadership, says Dinning, his chief rival, is looking beyond Alberta's borders for all the wrong reasons. "Dinning's message was with corporations with vested interests in Alberta," he says. "That troubles me." Morton, an arch conservative, says his motivations are practical and ideological. Alberta is in a crossroads, he says. One of his campaign themes is the shifting of economic power from the West to the East. Canada's future prosperity depends on the new economies of

HIS CHIEF RIVAL SAYS DINNING IS LOOKING BEYOND ALBERTA FOR ALL THE WRONG REASONS



FRONT-RUNNER Jim Dinning hosted fundraisers in Vancouver, Toronto and Winnipeg.

British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan. He says his planned meetings in Vancouver "with people who have a shared vision of Alberta and B.C. in conjunction of the new economy, who are looking for a different approach for capitalization and transfer."

That mission in B.C., according to Victoria's Byng Gerard, a senior consultant with Gerard's Strategy Group Inc., federal Conservative national councillor, and Morton supporter "Morton will be a strong ally for British Columbians who want more influence for the West in Ottawa, and less Ottawa influence in Western affairs," made a lyric circulated by Dinning. "Perhaps more than in Alberta," he says. "British Columbians have a common goal, that includes the Pacific Rim. Sometimes what happens on the other

side of the Rocky Mountains, we don't always pay attention to." But he's also a long history of co-operation between the two governments, recently solidified with a sweeping inter-provincial trade agreement. "There's a lot of people on that Vancouver to Calgary flight every day," Gerard says.

Alberta's opposition parties caution the largely unregulated nature of the Conservative leadership race. There are no rules requiring candidates to reveal the sources and amounts of donations, unlike in B.C. and Ontario (provincial elections in Alberta, by contrast, do prohibit out-of-province donations). In the Tory leadership campaign, "investor interest" is already much more in regulating fundraising and spending, reveals Conservative party president Doug Graham.

To professor Linda Thibault, chair of political science at the University of Alberta, the question of how candidates travel for donations is less worrisome than the "almost total lack of financial regulation in the leadership

race. Raise money wherever, spend it however, spend money on what you like," she says. "The question is, what difference does it make if it's Alberta companies that are buying influence or B.C. companies buying influence? Fundamentally, the problem is not that the money is coming from outside Alberta, but that money buys influence. And there's no doubt that with (lack of) unregulated, untransparent process, there's great potential for money to buy influence."

She says the stakes are particularly high because this is a party with a long hold as power. The Conservatives aren't just choosing a leader, "they're choosing a premier for the foreseeable future." And, for some reason, that's a decision that should be made—and financed—by Albertans. ■

PHOTO BY JIM COOPER

PHOTOGRAPH BY JIM COOPER



TRIBAL LEADERS at a Shi'a rally in Baghdad. Some observers say that a Sunni backlash could grow into a region-wide sectarian conflict.

RISE OF THE SHIAS

Sunnis worry that their old adversaries are gaining the upper hand

BY MICHAEL PEYRON • Shortly after the death of the Prophet Muhammad some 1,400 years ago, a dispute arose among his followers over who should succeed him. The majority of Muslims followed that his successor should be appointed by elders from within the new Islamic community, following the pre-Islamic tradition of the desert. This group became known as Sunnis, from the Arabic word *sawna*, meaning tradition. But a minority believed that the Prophet's successors should come from his own family, and so they supported the leadership of his cousin and son-in-law, Ali. This group became known as Shias, meaning partisans of Ali.

The two groups faced each other in battle in 680 at Karbala, about 100 km from Baghdad, and the Shias were defeated. Since then,

Sunnis and Shias have frequently opposed each other—often with violence. And until recently it was almost always the Sunnis who held the upper hand. “Sunnis Islam is the doctrine of power and achievement,” the British author Edward Mortimer wrote. “Shi’ism is the doctrine of opposition. The starting point of Shi’ism is the defeat of Ali and his house.” Mortimer argued that Shi’ Islam has therefore been forced to underground, to the detriment and the oppressed.

Raza Adnan, a neurosurgeon at the University of Southern California’s Center on Public Diplomacy, has described historic Shi’ Islam as “essentially the protest movement within the Islamic world.” And Sayid Mahdavi and Kader al-Ghannay, the owners of Ali’s shrine in Najaf, Iraq, has said, “The Shi’a of Iran and Ali are born to suffering. We have to be in a constant state of agitation. This agitation has made us famous. We are born oppositionists.” For much of the history of Islam, that was usually the case. Since 1950

90 per cent of Muslims are Sunnis, and Sunni Islam was dominant almost everywhere in the Islamic world, with the most notable exception of Iran.

In the last few years, however, a dramatic shift has been underway. Most importantly, democracy has given the long oppressed Iraqi Shi’a control of their country. Shi’a in nearby states have taken notice, and in Saudi Arabia’s municipal elections last year, the turnout in Shi’a dominated regions was twice as high as elsewhere. The Iranian regime, heir to a Shi’a Islamic revolution, is now all too certain to curtail the Iraqi administration’s freedom, and consequently forcing its muscles and now doing its work in Iraq and Lebanon. And in Lebanon, Hezbollah, a Shi’a militia once led and funded by Iran, has used its ground against Israel, thereby cementing its status throughout the Islamic world.

The real power shift began, however, with the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in Iraq. The United States must have anticipated

that bringing democracy to Iraq would empower Shi’a in the country. But the hope was that a democracy in Iraq, built on a Shi’a majority, would recognize the secular Iraqi constitution, and might establish democracy in the country. Instead, Iraq, freed from the threat of Saddam Hussein, simply deepened its sectarian divide.

It is a development that is breeding anxiety among Sunni Arab leaders in the region. Last year, Jordan’s King Abdullah worried a Shi’a “conquest” stretching from Tehran to Beirut that could dominate the entire Middle East. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak went further than that. April 19th, he told his cabinet that the April 19th revolution in Iran “is not a good thing for the Arab world. Shi’a are mostly always loyal to Iran and are the enemies where they live,” he said. With this latest conflict between Hezbollah and Israel erupted, both the Saudi cabinet and King Abdullah publicly criticized Hezbollah for starting it—a significant move, given that the majority of their citizens will side with Israel’s opponent in any given war.

According to Iqbal Roberts, a Cairo-based project director for the International Crisis Group think tank, Sunni Arab leaders are right to be worried by the support that Hezbollah is generating among their own Sunni citizens. “The Arab identity is vibrating at a level level in enthusiastic response to the perception of Hezbollah having done very well,” he says. “From their point of view, this is a threatening development: a renewal of pan-Arab enthusiasm at a popular level that is being spearheaded by Shi’a-based movements. That underlines the real influence as perceived on popular Arab opinion, even amongst Sunni Arabs.”

The fear of this new political class in states such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan is not that they people will convert to Shi’a Islam. The power play in question is much more earthly than divine. Sunni rulers must realize that the more emboldened that population becomes with Shi’a-based opposition to Israel and the United States, the more their own poverty is exposed, and their hold on power weakened.

But what of Mubarak’s claim that Shi’a are Iranian stooges, more loyal to Iran than to their own countries? This accusation, according to Joseph Hagan, an International Crisis Group project director in Amman, “is not based on anything and wrong.” He says that Mubarak and King Abdullah in Jordan and the Saudi royal family, far from growing stronger, are trying to contain that threat with recent Shi’a Islam elsewhere. But the problem with Mubarak’s warning, many analysts say, is that there is no such thing as a united Shi’a

community that stretches across the Middle East. Ethnic, national and local politics often trump religious loyalty. Some Shi’a outside Iraq may look to the country with some admiration because it is one of the few places in the world where Shi’a have not been suppressed. “But this doesn’t mean they are at the service of Iran,” says Raza Adnan, a political scientist and Middle East specialist at York University who grew up in Iran.

In Iraq, insecurity described as the result of Shi’a-Sunni conflict in the Middle East, Baghdad is dividing sharply along sectarian lines. But the two most powerful Shi’a entities—the Iraqi Organisation and the Islamic Army—are not united. “The recent civil war has become full blown, it will put the Shi’a groups against each other,” says Hagan. “Civil war in Iraq will not be a simple Sunni-Shi’a deal. It will be total disintegration.”

Still, the fact that Shi’a in the Middle East

‘THE SHIA ARE BORN TO SUFFERING. WE HAVE TO BE IN A CONSTANT STATE OF AGITATION.’



MUBARAK, Accusers of Iranian stoicism

are not all joined together or controlled by Iran does not change the fact that they are becoming more powerful, assertive and influential. Veli Nur, whose recently published book, *The Shi’a Revival: How Conflicts within Islam Will Shape the Future*, is counting a list amongst academics and analysts, says the rise of the Shi’a and a resulting Sunni backlash could grow into a region-wide sectarian conflict. This is, arguably, too pessimistic. What is undeniable, however, is that the foundations of power that controlled the Middle East for centuries are shifting. Shi’a Islam, the religion of opposition, protest and defeat, is poised to play a much more dominant role in the region’s future. ■

Smear campaign

Lula will win in Brazil despite massive scandal

BY HENRIK VINCENT • In Brazil, Luis Inácio Lula da Silva is known as the ‘fellow traveller’ because of the corruption scandal that has engulfed his government over the last few years. But when it comes to his last few years, analysts are not surprised that opinion polls are still showing that Lula, who is known as ‘Lula’, is Brazil’s largest current candidate, a healthy lead over his closest opponents in presidential elections scheduled for this weekend. Even the most recent corruption scandal, in which members of his inner circle were forced to resign last week over allegations that they were involved in a plot to smear their opponents, has done nothing to upset his chances of winning a second term. But that increased the pressure on Lula to finally act against government corruption, should he win.

Polls released last week by the Vox Populi polling firm showed that Lula had dropped one percentage point since the scandal, from 51 per cent to 50 per cent, suggesting that he could still win in a first round of voting. Getulio Vargas, his closest rival, rose from 25 per cent to 27 per cent support, and Helene Helena Lima de Moraes, a senator and former member of Lula’s Workers’ Party (PT) who is running on a populist socialist platform, slipped from nine per cent to six per cent. Analysts say that Lula’s lead stems largely from his ability over the last four years to maintain economic stability in Brazil.

Still, on the eve of elections, the media has been a constant thorn in Lula’s side. “Lula has provoked a much public hand-writing,” “Lula is much, much more than his Watergate,” said Maria Assunção de Mello, president of the non-partisan Supreme Electoral Tribunal, referring to the scandal that cost Brazil’s current socialist president in the 2004 Brazilian election. In 2004, Lula’s victory resulted in the acquittal of, among others, Ricardo Baccarelli, Lula’s campaign manager and the president of his Workers’ Party. “What we have here is the worst possible case of power,” de Mello said. Both Baccarelli and Lula, along with four former presidential aides and Godoy, are under investigation by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal for their alleged roles in the scandal. If the tribunal finds that Lula was involved, it has the authority to remove him from office if he wins the election, and replace him with the runner-up candidate.

The so-called “conquest” scandal came to

light two weeks ago when a lawyer closely linked to Lula's party was arrested by federal police in São Paulo with US\$500,000 in cash. Investigators believe that the money was to be used to purchase a dossier, reportedly from the owner of a private ambulance company, containing corruption allegations against Lula's political opponents, particularly conservative politician José Serra, who is running for governor of São Paulo state against PT candidate Aécio Neves da Silva (Serra ran against Lula for the presidency in 2002). The dossier, which contained photos and DVDs, allegedly linked Serra, Aécio and other opposition politicians to Brazil's so-called "bloodsucker scandal," in which state health authorities in São Paulo were swindling for medical equipment and ambulances, with politicians receiving huge kickbacks. Oswaldo

and called the scandal a less-minute secret campaign by his political rivals against his government on the eve of presidential elections. He also defended his decision to fire his campaign manager on a party president with only days to go before the vote. "I didn't



with the government. They have to fend in those people who did this, unless of course it wasn't an order from above."

Lula's principal rival, Aécio, who stood down as governor of São Paulo state to run in the presidential election, confabulated on the late scandal, and contacted the incumbent for refusing to show up for televised debates with his team rivals. "It's a pay that candidate Lula, who made enormous promises

four years ago, most of which haven't been fulfilled and who had five cabinet members indicted or charged by the police, didn't come to the debate just so that he wouldn't have to explain the issues," Aécio said.

Corruption scandals have been a feature of the Lula administration over the last four years. One of the biggest blows to the government was the loss of finance minister Antonio Palocin, who resigned last March in the wake of corruption allegations stemming from his alleged visits to a high-end hotel in the country's capital, Brasília, where bribes were paid out (Palocin denied the allegations). There were other high-level sexual tax before him. In December 2003, Lula's former chief of staff, José Dirceu, was expelled from congress after being accused of masterminding a scheme under which the PT allegedly paid bribes in exchange for congressional allies (two other deputies were also expelled). Dirceu was arguably the most important person in Lula's inner circle, and he widely credited with leading the successful campaign to elect Lula in 2002.

This August, congress started investigating him into allegations that he (Dirceu) deplored had sexual affairs in connection with health care contracts. Transparency Brasil, meanwhile, an anti-corruption watchdog affiliated with the Berlin-based Transparency International, lists 493 Brazilian legislators, former cabinet ministers, state governors and mayors on its website who are currently running for congress. Of those, 193 are under investigation or awaiting trials for embezzlement and other white-collar crimes. If elected to a second term, Lula has promised to make the fight against government corruption a cornerstone of his government. It seems he will have his work cut out for him. ■

ALLEGATIONS OF BROTHELS, BRIBES AND THE 'BLOODSUCKER SCANDAL'



PRESIDENT LULA (top right and above) promises to fight corruption. It's a big job.

Berges, a Lula campaign worker, admitted to police that he met with opposition officials in Washington to try to wrangle a deal to sell them the dossier once it made its way to his Police, who still have the lawyer, Guilherme Pereira Passos, in custody, want to know where the money to buy the dossier came from, and who gave the orders to buy it.

"We are considering the hypothesis that the whole thing is a plot against the PT by its opponents," said Berges when questioned by journalists, but before he was freed from the Lula campaign last week. For his part, Lula denied knowledge of the dossier,

renewed Berges because I think he's guilty or involved," and Lula in a TV interview. "It's because with only 10 days until the elections, I can't have a campaign manager who is going to spend all of his time answering questions about a dossier." Lula also vowed to conduct an investigation to find out who had ordered the purchase of the file. "I want to know who gave the money and I want to know what is in this dossier, why it's worth so much," said Lula on Good Morning Brazil.

For many, the president's denial was simply too difficult to swallow. "I can't believe that the president of my country is so naive," said



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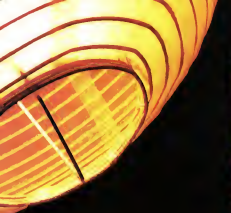
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WORLD

OUT OF THE CLOSET

**Skeletons are rattling
as Romania opens
its secret police files**

BY MICHAEL PETROU • Seventeen years after Communism collapsed across Central and Eastern Europe, scars from the era can still dominate careers and capture a nation. Romania's President Traian Basescu has ordered his country's security services to make long-buried records of the Securitate, the Communist secret police. Some files were previously available, but the records of powerful politicians and public figures were kept hidden. Now many are being exposed, sparking a painful storm as Romanians discover how widespread the collaboration among top political and social elites was. Mihaela Mădăraș, a prominent publicist, rarely

do with your usual work with the Securitate and chose to do with the politics of the present, with your courage to report," she says. "People say that maybe under Communism you believed you had no way out, you saw you had only one venue open to you. But you've had 17 years. You could have admitted to it. But you always had to act."

Romans are joining the list of post-Communist countries in Europe to systematically probe the actions of its citizens during the Communist era. It is always a traumatic process, as citizens confront past sins and implications that send red neon signs over the people. Many informants were in turn spied on by other collaborators. "We are all in this together—those who created this regime, those who accepted it in place, and all of us who subconsciously became accomplices," Viktor Hvald, the Czech dissident who became his country's president, has said.

Sometimes people turn away from the past. "I've had people say to me, 'I don't want to look,'" says Scott Eddins, a professor of economic history at the Uni-



BASESCU (left) with files, Mihaela Mădăraș (right) had to confess when confronted with proof

versity of Toronto, who was informed on by friends and colleagues in East Germany, and possibly Hungary and Romania, during the Cold War. Eddins later looked up his own file in the East German archives. He knows who informed on him, but doesn't hold it against him, because he believes the man was simply doing his job and Eddins came to no harm. Others live more intimate battles. "When you find out that family members—your own spouse or children—turned in reports on you, that must be devastating," Eddins says.

But many also believe countries making the transition to democracy must confront their history. Basescu himself says the process is necessary to solidify Romania's bid to join the EU. "For a place like Romania, it's absolutely necessary to come to terms with the past," says Justina Jorjopol, director of the World Museum, a California institution dedicated to the study of Central and Eastern Europe during the Cold War. "This is the first step in establishing a truly democratic state." ■

SPAIN'S SPLIT PERSONALITY

**Wildly liberal. Devoutly
Catholic. In Spain, old
divisions are reopening.**

BY MICHAEL PETROU • Spain, in the two years since the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party leader José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero became prime minister, has apparently been transformed into one of the most socially liberal nations in Europe. Gay marriage is legal, and gay couples are allowed to adopt children. And the influence and power of the Catholic Church continues to decline.

Perhaps in an effort to achieve the equality of divorce that was now so easy to obtain, Spanish civil marriage contracts now require men to agree to do their fair share of housework, child-rearing and looking after elderly relatives. And this month, a fashion show in Madrid banned underweight models from appearing, and promised to provide medical attention for women judged to be too skinny.

It seems as if Spain is rapidly shedding its archaic and conservative image, and making its way into a liberal, secular future.

Why, then, did an estimated 5.5 million Spaniards flock to Valencia this summer to hear Pope Benedict XVI hawk family values and criticize the reforms Spain has and/or goes? For Robert Davidson, a professor of Spanish and Catalan studies at the University of Toronto, the answer is simple: "There are two Spains."

Spain went through a bitter civil war from 1936 to 1939. The conflict pitted army segments of Spanish society against each other—with fascists, conservatives, the military and the Catholic Church supporting Francisco Franco's military rebellion, and socialists, anarchists, Communists and regional nationalists supporting the second government. He eventually overthrew Franco's dictatorship, but it lasted for almost 40 years, until his death in 1975. Davidson argues that Spain's rapid transition to democracy following Franco's

ROMANIA: CHRISTIANE LEBLANC; SPAIN: JIMMY HARRIS/REUTERS

Lessons from the first peacekeeper

It wasn't Lester Pearson. It was Tommy Burns, and he knew its failings.

BY SEAN M. MALONEY • "We're in every thing, Lebanon nothing... The balance of power is now depends upon the outcome in the Middle East. And in the present circumstances, the outcome in the Middle East depends upon the outcome in Iraq."

Centenary from the summer of 1960? Surprisingly not, the year was 1958 and the quote is from American columnist Joseph Alsop. Unsurprisingly, leading the column was Gen. Abdel Nasser, instigator of a guerrilla war to strip the crown from the Lebanese

who was practicing UN peacekeeping in the region two years before Lester B. Pearson "invented" it in the 1956 Suez crisis. An aviator, liberalist iconoclast, poker player and sexual athlete, Burns (as born Gravel) retired by Canadian history. Famed for standing up to the potential misuse of Canadian troops in Italy during the Second World War, he was called to Vietnam. After his rehabilitation when there was a need for an experienced Canadian in the Middle East.

Burns's observations on the viability of

"THE UN HAS OBLIGED THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS TO END THEIR WAR, BUT NOT TO MAKE PEACE," HE SAID

after the Holocaust, but one since borne out by Israel's "new historians." An Shalom and Barry Morris, who also contend that Israel was an aggressive or belligerent end, not a passive victim in the conflict of the day.

Burns explained that regional discussion revolved around four problems: the status and disposition of Arab refugees from the 1948 war; the delineation of boundaries between Israel and her neighbors; the need for compensation for Arabs who left property in Israel; and the status of Jerusalem. As he put it, delegates to UN armistice commissions "were apt to wrangle like lawyer lawyers, with the object of securing a condemnation of the other party in the strongest terms for subsequent political and propaganda use."

Burns believed that UN intervention was part of the problem, and the organization "has al-

most no powers to oblige any nation to make peace. More explicitly, it lacks power to impose terms of peace. Therefore it is that the UN has obliged the Arabs and the Israelis to end their war, but it cannot oblige them to make peace." That was the dilemma of Cold War peacekeeping: the UN could freeze a situation in place but could not resolve it. The belligerents wanted to fight and the UN was in no position to stop them.

Burns cautioned Canada about becoming mired in the region. "Sometimes [UN] members were referred to as international policemen, but they were policemen with out truncheons... There was, of course, no police or technical sense." The UN merely acted as a buffer while both sides resumed in 1966, Burns predicted that UN forces would one day be forced out to make way for another war. Seven years later, Nasser ordered UN troops out of the Sinai, within days, Israel struck—and quashed her aid in the Six Day War. "Peacekeeping seemed to be discredited, and there were many voices in Canada calling for the abandonment of our efforts in the field," Burns said.

The Middle East cycle will continue, as will the international community's cyclical deployments of peacekeeping forces to the region. Burns's four points are now 44 years old, and there is still no will among the belligerents to audaciously address them, something to consider any time a debate about Canada's peacekeeping efforts arises. ■



BURNS (right) with Moshe Dayan in 1958, was critical of Israel, a ally stance at the time. One government, while a violent camp took place in Jerusalem and the region was worsened against King Hussein's Jordan, then once again prompted Anglo-American forces to intervene in Lebanon and Jordan. That spring, an unnamed Canadian military observer serving with the UN in the Middle East was killed, most likely by Israeli forces. The peacekeeping—

"Today, the world's situation has been driven off Lebanon as French-led peacekeeping forces have withdrawn. Canada, supposedly the inventor of UN peacekeeping, is conspicuous by its absence. Should Canada stay or go?"

When the Lebanese crisis threatened to escalate in 1958, Canada had been engaged in Middle East peacekeeping for four years. Canadian troops were involved in three missions, two of them by its remarkable men, Canadian Lt. Gen. E.L.M. "Bessy" Burns,



BELGIUM: A TRADITION AT THE CROSSROADS

The tiny nation may break with tradition and introduce stop signs. Belgium has a long tradition that once gave the right of way to persons of higher social status, which evolved into giving priority to vehicles on the right—common in Europe. But collisions persist, prompting insurers to press for the change. The government isn't moving. "We have a lot of interferences," an spokesman says. "We have a lot of interferences."



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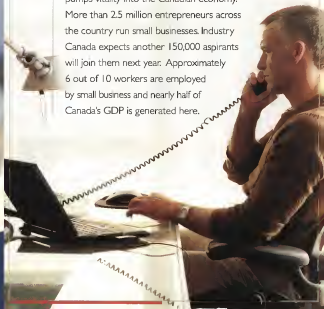
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> FOR YOU

HOW TO SUCCEED IN SMALL BUSINESS

The small business sector is the big engine that pumps vitality into the Canadian economy. More than 2.5 million entrepreneurs across the country run small businesses. Industry Canada expects another 150,000 aspirants will join them next year. Approximately 6 out of 10 workers are employed by small business and nearly half of Canada's GDP is generated here.



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Based on surveys done both in the majority of urban Canadian cities within Rogers Wireless footprint, comparing select services of the major wireless providers. Wireless quality may vary due to customer's handset, network availability and capacity, interference, topography and environmental conditions and other factors. **ThinkSparks of Rogers Communications Inc. used for analysis. © 2009 Rogers Wireless

You might think that Daniel Kesselring, president of Murray Clock Craft Ltd. of Toronto, pursued a lifelong passion nurtured in his native Switzerland — selling do-it-yourself clock kits to hobbyists like himself.

"Cuckoo" to that presumption, says Kesselring. He actually studied agriculture in Switzerland and became a pig farmer in Canada. He also worked as retail manager for a Bata shoe store before he ventured into the clock business with a partner. "An opportunity presented itself and we had an excellent business plan to move forward when we began in 1977," says Kesselring. "I knew nothing about clocks back then."



He expanded his Clock Gallery retail outlets to 24 regional mall stores in the Toronto region. When the recession hit in the late 1980s, he closed down the stores as the leases expired. This time he shifted his entrepreneurial drive away from retail to wholesale and to selling mail-order clock kits and he became one of the early adopters of retailing over the Internet. Today, Murray Clock has customers throughout North America and as far away as England, Japan and China. Clock enthusiasts are buying everything from \$30 children's clocks to \$1,200 full-sized wall clocks from his website outlet.

The allure of small business

Starting or growing a successful small business is not easy. Like Kesselring, you've got to have a service or product that customers want, "you need a business model that works and plenty of managerial smarts. Also, it never hurts to have some luck, good timing and money in the bank."

The small business sector is the big engine that pumps so much vitality into the Canadian economy. All told, more than 2.5 million entrepreneurs across the country run small businesses. Industry Canada expects another 150,000 aspirants will join them next year. About 6 out of 10 workers are employed by small or medium-sized business and nearly half of

Canada's GDP is generated by this sector.

It's not surprising that entrepreneurship is the number one pick as a rewarding career path. According to the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, more than 40% of Canadians surveyed said starting a company or being self-employed is their preferred choice. For making a living. Some people talk for years about going into business for themselves but fear holds them back. Others take the plunge — and many succeed, despite the odds.

You certainly can improve your chances for success by doing your homework. Understand the marketplace, customer needs, the competition and, most importantly, refine your strategy and vision for success. "The key is figuring out what your gift is," says Jerome Shore, executive coach and managing partner of The Coaching Clinic in Toronto. "Imagine what success is like and then look backwards from your success. By looking backwards it's easier to see what the necessary steps are. When you are looking forward, you tend to see the big hills ahead and it's harder to strategize."

Shore counsels professionals who are ready to embark on their own enterprises. "Often, what limits people is that they're trying to do the business in a unique way and that's silly," says the success coach. "Don't try to invent something new or do something extraordinarily difficult. Do what others are doing, but just do it better."

If you're convinced that your franchise concept is basically sound, check out the business as thoroughly as possible. Each province has its own regulations.

Small businesses are doing better thanks to the economy. Bankruptcies have fallen in the past three years and profits are holding steady, according to Benjamin Tal, senior economist for CIBC World Markets. He points out that the business landscape is changing, as small businesses are actually getting smaller, and startups are not as capital-intensive as they once were, as more entrepreneurs are attracted to the SOHO — Small Office Home Office — business structure.

The fastest growing sector in small business is what Tal calls "seniorpreneurs" — the 55-plus crowd, many with considerable savings and many of whom are women. "Most of the increases we're seeing in small business is in personal services, such as health therapies, pharmaceuticals and taking care of older people," observes Tal. The niche market of baby boomers is once again driving the change.

Who succeeds?

From his business surveys, Tal finds that almost two-thirds of business owners are "lifestylers." Their goal is not to become the next Bill Gates. They strive for the right balance between earnings and quality of life. Tal has also identified a smaller group of super-achievers. These small-business practitioners stand out for the following reasons:

- **Technology:** Small firms that are tech-savvy with a high level of Internet and wireless capabilities grow their revenues at 2.5 times the rate of those that are not Web connected. As Tal notes, "You can



use technology now like you've never been able to before. We're experiencing a dramatic increase in the use of wireless and Web-based technologies, especially in the past two years."

- **Exporting Internet sales:** Small businesses that export more than half of their Internet-based sales experienced 2.5 times the growth of their counterparts who didn't sell outside of Canada.

- **Advisors:** By nature, entrepreneurs tend to be super-optimists. Good professional advisors share a more realistic view of life. Owners who consulted advisors regularly tallied sales 76% higher than those who didn't.

- **Incorporated:** Small businesses that formed corporations increased their revenues 40% more than sole proprietors who didn't incorporate.

- **Outsourcing:** Taking advantage of other companies' expertise can boost your bottom line. Firms that offered outsourcing work to other companies registered earnings 61% higher than those that didn't outsource contract work to third parties.

- **Education:** Small firms whose leaders have acquired some post-secondary education have experienced revenue growth 2.5 times greater than those whose leaders haven't done so.

Finding the funds

Even when she was an undergraduate student, in her native Iran, Dr. Gina Cody knew someday she wanted to run her own engineering firm. Today Cody is president of Construction Control Inc. of Woodbridge, Ont., overseeing about 80 engineers and technologists who provide a broad range of building science and related engineering services. She expects company revenues to exceed \$10 million this year.

Along the way she has been a trailblazer in a field dominated by men. She has the distinction of being the first woman to graduate from Concordia University in Montreal with a PhD in building engineering and she lectures regularly at universities on issues affecting women engineers.

"I always wanted to have my own businesses rather than to work for someone else," says Cody. "It's the realization that you can be in charge of your own fate." She bought into the company in 1989 and has seen the firm grow robustly. She is currently a 50% owner. "My challenge is where do I want to go from here? I can remain the sole or double the business. But my concern is that I can't provide the same high-quality service to my clients if we grow too fast. What really stands out in this business is the quality of the work."

Over the years, Construction Control was able to use cash flow from the business to expand and didn't need outside financing. Most companies are not in such an enviable position, especially startups. If you can get funding yourself, so much the better. You might tap into your personal savings, get a second mortgage on your house, or max out your credit cards to get the venture going.

Otherwise you can beg or borrow from friends and relatives who may share your vision of success. They may buy into your plans provided they get some equity in the company. Everybody remembers what happened when the founders of Trivial Pursuit

You might tap into your personal savings, get a second mortgage on your house, or max out your credit cards to get the venture going.

tapped into their friends — the lucky ones who invested got rich.

Then there is, of course, the option of getting money from lending institutions. "Most small businesses are generally unprepared when dealing with banks," says Eric Perceval of the Perceval Group, a Toronto accounting firm. "The owners need a sound business plan and they need to recognize that the banks are not your partner." While they may provide loans, lending institutions are not interested in taking all the risk he adds, so you will almost certainly have to pledge personal assets as collateral. Get used to hearing, "If you have faith in your business, then why wouldn't you want to personally guarantee it?"

For larger startups, or to expand a business, there are so-called angel investors. The term "angels" is not necessarily a reference to saintly individuals. It's a Broadway term for wealthy people who finance the production of new plays. Angel investors are business types who have made or inherited their fortunes and seek relatively high risk/high return investments. They tend to focus their sights on high-tech and retail operations.

When it comes to needing serious money, venture capitalists are in a league of their own. As professional investors, they may put up as little as \$100,000 but more often they look for opportunities requiring \$1 million or more. The price? They generally seek a 30-40% return on a compounded basis and they usually impose fairly onerous conditions that may include giving up all or some control of your company. As a result, they're very picky — investing in only about 2% of the businesses they look at.



I always wanted to have my own businesses rather than to work for someone else. It's the realization that you can be in charge of your own fate

"Venture capitalists are looking for a takeover in four to seven years," says Perreault. At that time, they want you to find an alternative source for funds, such as a merger with a larger entity. For every 10 investments, venture funds expect two to three big winners, three or four to do OK and the remainder to be problematic."

An entrepreneur's challenge is to put together a plan or "story" that lets an investor see how your business will make money and what they can expect as a payoff. You must carefully identify your market, quantify the potential interest in your service or product, and figure out how much it will cost to get these customers. The data then becomes part of the financial component of your business plan.

It may seem daunting at first to write a comprehensive business plan. But there's a ton of free advice, templates and help just mouse clicks away on the Internet. A good place to start is the Canada Business Service Centre at www.bsc.org. This federal government site has loads of information on start-up steps, financing a business, marketing, taxation, and importing and exporting. It also contains links to your home province so you can discover local resources and regulations.

Harnessing IT

Gregory Michetti started Michetti & Associates (now Michetti Information Solutions Inc.), a high-tech consulting business, 12 years ago in Edmonton. "I flew solo for about a year-and-a-half before I had enough courage to hire somebody," he says. "I did everything and I had to be good at all things. Good at

administration, good at operations and above all good at being a salesman." He says the field of Dreams scenario held by many entrepreneurs that "if you build it, they will come" is sadly just a dream. Michetti has learned to sell. His firm, now with an office in Calgary and staff in Toronto, employs 10 and boasts an annual sales of several million.

As a systems integrator, he notes that small businesses tend to underestimate their technology costs. He concedes most don't need a full-time IT manager for the installation of technology and network maintenance, but it's also unlikely someone on staff would have that kind of expertise. He suggests outsourcing some of your technology needs. "As a general guideline," says Michetti, "you should be allocating 4% to 5% of your revenues to IT expenses, which include equipment, maintenance and personnel."

All too often, do-it-yourself entrepreneurs think they're operating at capacity as long as their PCs are running. Just how tough could it be to connect equipment and get compatibility? "All our work in the past two years has come from systems that have been messed up," he says. "Some business can be operating at only 40% efficiency before they realize that their systems aren't performing as well as they should." An experienced techie does more than just plug things in. He can install firewalls, consolidate applications and network the office computers and mobile equipment to communicate with each other.

Owning a franchise

For small businesses, one of the tantalizing options is the franchising game. As a business phenomenon,

The key to success in franchising is to make sure you thoroughly investigate the business before you commit your money.

Franchising has experienced explosive growth over the past 25 years. Today, close to 50 cents out of every retail dollar is spent at franchised outlets. Since business startups can be fraught with peril, franchising can be appealing because it sometimes offers better odds at success.

For the franchisee, the business can be expanded rapidly with capital costs primarily borne by franchisees. There's a continuing royalty stream from the sale of the product or the service. For the franchisee, it's a way to buy a proven concept and share in the volume buying and advertising power of the company. But be aware that franchising has a mixed record. McDonald's and Canadian Tire franchisees are part of business lore, but the field is also littered with many casualties.

Typically franchise royalties range from 2% to 30% of gross sales. Waste disposal franchise systems, for instance, command steep royalties. Start-up fees can be as low as \$3,000 for yes, a hot-dog stand. Or the cash outlay can be as high as \$1 million plus for a full-service restaurant. Whatever the amount, "the key to success in franchising is to make sure you thoroughly investigate the business before you commit your money," says John May, a partner in the Toronto-based law firm of Markle May Phibbs.

It's also important to pursue the right type of opportunity. If you've been working in an office for the past 20 years with highly educated staff, you may not have the right temperament to run a pizza shop. Also keep in mind that some franchises' long-term survival will be threatened by changing regulations or technological advancements. For instance, home-inspection franchises that evaluate the soundness of buildings could come under pressure if the examiners themselves ever need to be accredited.

If you're convinced that your franchise concept is basically sound, check out the business as thoroughly as possible. Each province has its own regulations

"The franchisees are protected somewhat by provincial regulators," says May, "but it would be prudent for you to look carefully at the [provincial] franchising acts covering new franchisees and also renewals."

A number of successful franchisees are public companies. If that's the case, scrutinize the annual reports. But the majority of franchisees are private operations and you're not likely to get to see the books. Nonetheless, you can find out if the rosy scenarios painted in the sample franchise financial statements are founded in the school of realism. Go around to existing franchise outlets, and not just the ones referred by the franchisor, to get feedback.

Proceed with caution

It's no mystery that franchise agreements are weighted in favor of the franchisor. You pretty well have to toe the line and follow the prescribed terms set out in the standard contract, so have your lawyer review them and get advice on just what your obligations will be.

John May sees two relatively new trends in the franchising. More and more franchisors are looking for people who will buy into multiple outlets rather than single stores. Also, certain companies are allocating points to franchisees based on everything from customer service to the type of paint in the washrooms. "The idea is that if you accumulate sufficient points, you get better terms and price on the goods from the franchisor," says May. "But that threshold level remains elusive for virtually all the franchisees."

At times, franchising fees can be punitive. May tells of one retailer who found his markups on inventory meant an additional cost of 7.5% to 10%. The building fund, equity fund, advertising fund and other fees

It doesn't really matter what's the nature of your business. If you have good controls, fine products and know your customers, your business can be profitable for a long time.

charged by the franchisor created a situation where the dealer concluded he could buy for the same price or less directly from the supplier.

Even worse than the various fees were the tough franchising terms. "The retailer discovered he could pay his bills in 30 to 90 days with suppliers, as opposed to 10 days with the franchisor," says May. "In addition, the interest charges were considerably lower with the suppliers than with the franchisor." The franchisee soon chose to leave the system.

May also advises leasing directly from the landlord, whenever possible and not from the franchisor. "If there's an argument with the franchisor," notes May, "at least you have a place to do business if the company cancels your arrangement."

The final word goes to Murray Clock Craft's David Kusseling, a veteran entrepreneur who for a brief time was actually a franchisor. "Look, it doesn't really matter what's the nature of your business," he says. "If you have good controls, fine products and know your customers, your business can be profitable for a long time." Perhaps it could even outlast one of his finely crafted grandfather clocks.

Riding the high-tech wave

For Howard Brown, president of Toronto-based public relations firm Brown & Cohen, mobile technology is the great enabler. His indispensable business tool is the BlackBerry®, the handy e-mail and cellphone device

"The advancement of mobile technology is so superior today," says Brown. "I have virtually no downtime while working. I'm learning to enjoy life more because I'm that much more productive while at work."

He started his public relations firm 15 years ago specializing in media and government relations and working with an increasing number of financial service companies, professional associations and other organizations. His partner, Kimberly Cohen and the rest of their staff are also equipped with BlackBerry devices to be more responsive to clients.

In May, Brown was in Europe, travelling in Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and Austria. But he was always in touch with the office and his clients. "I had a call from a Cabinet Minister's office at Queen's Park and it was totally seamless," recalls Brown. "I might as well have been sitting in my office in Toronto." His RIM BlackBerry runs on the Rogers Wireless network and is GSM-GPRS compatible, the prevailing industry standard used in 185 countries. Whether he's in Prague, Pittsburgh or the Prairies, he's getting e-mail messages in real-time.

The relatively small display screen on the BlackBerry doesn't seem to be a limitation. Brown is able to review PowerPoint presentations, media releases and colour photographs all on his BlackBerry. About 70% of his time is spent dealing with media, and that type of work is time sensitive. As an example, Brown says, "I was out of the office in back-to-back meetings and a crisis hit with one of our clients and the Ontario Securities Commission. A reporter at the Globe & Mail was working on this breaking story and needed to reach us immediately. My BlackBerry allowed me to monitor my emails so I did not miss this important opportunity for my client. The way the BlackBerry helps us in our business is it allows us to be mobile and at the same time stay in touch with any urgent matters."

As a tech-savvy practitioner, he's constantly refining his on-the-go habits. Instead of keeping all large files on his BlackBerry, he has the capability, when required, to store data on a website.

With a simple press of a button, Brown zaps the data to a client or media contact from the website via the BlackBerry. "It's also a breeze to do three-way calls while mobile and not have to go back to the office," he explains. Brown & Cohen are heavy users of the mobile technology. As a company they spend over \$1,000 a month on BlackBerry service. But it's the best return on investment he ever made," he explains.

The small-business market is poised for rapid growth among mobile subscribers. Beyond talking and checking e-mail, entrepreneurs are extending business applications through their PDA's, pocket PCs and smart phones, enabling their staff to tap into customer relationship databases and sales-automation programs and to check inventories on the fly.

Beyond this trend is the ever-increasing functionality of cellphones and handheld devices. Many manufacturers are incorporating organizer features such as calendars, address books and e-mail functions to augment existing Web surfing and calling capabilities.

What's more, you're never far away from an Internet pulse, even outside the office. Most major airports offer Wi-Fi hotspots so you can connect your laptop or PDA to the Internet. Coffee shops, retail outlets and even train stations are adding similar services every day. A number of hotel chains also provide high-speed Internet of Wi-Fi at little or no additional cost. Best Western, for one, offers free Internet connectivity at all of its 2,300 locations in Canada and the U.S.

Innovators are taking advantage of this wireless revolution. Dr. Jonathan Burns of Abbotsford B.C., has found a way to reduce health care costs while improving operational efficiency and reducing the strain on patients using digital wireless technology. Four years ago, Burns raised \$2.5 million to develop Psalere® - a Web-based software application designed to manage home-care patients in their own environment, doing away with unnecessary trips to emergency for treatment.

Using a hand-held device or a smart phone equipped with a camera, a home-care nurse can upload images of a patient's wound and notes to a secure database. A nurse or physician specializing in wound management would then log on to assess the wound and recommend treatment. The service costs about \$45 a month per nurse.



"The advent of the electronic age will dramatically change health-care," predicts Burns. Nine hundred nurses in the Vancouver Coastal Health Authority are using Psalere. Barnes-Jewish Hospital in St. Louis has just begun to outfit its nurses with the wireless technology beyond the treatment of wounds. Burns is developing other home-care modules. Ostomy care (for surgically created openings to the body) has just been rolled out, and home intravenous and chemotherapy treatments should be ready sometime next year.

In addition, Burns has developed a Web-based portal called WebMed Technology. The site gives patients and physicians access to more than 2,500 references to different medical conditions, treatments and procedures. More than 250,000 hits are registered every month by those seeking online medical information.

Psalere is now profitable and annual revenues are just under \$2 million. Where does Burns want to take it? "I'm looking for a CEO who's a good businessman who can take it to the next stage and get distribution throughout North America," he says. Burns is willing to sell equity in Psalere to obtain rapid expansion of his business. He wants more time to get back to his first love - being an emergency room doctor. ■



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New battlefield, familiar enemy

Apple readies to face Microsoft for digital music supremacy

BY JOHN DEITSCH • When Microsoft Corp. announced the upcoming Christmas-season release of *Zune*—the digital music player envisioned as the long-awaited iPod killer—one of Bill Gates's toughest battles must await a stage at the company's. The third, says Alfred, a Microsoft vice president, is "the Poq of digital music." Comparing Apple's wildly popular iPod player to the scruffy simplistic *Start* game from the early '90s marked the beginning of a new battle in the 10-year war between the two tech giants.

Read on, as everyone knows, went to Gates. Apple was off the personal computer crown in the 1970s, but today it controls less than five per cent of the global computer market. Microsoft's operating systems run almost all the rest. But Apple—with design and marketing flair—has a stronghold on

analysts were skeptical that Microsoft, which until then had focused almost entirely on applications, would have much success in the video game console business. But Gates opened his war chest, pouring US\$100 million into an internet retail marketing campaign to compete against the big boys (Sony, Nintendo and Sega). It was also reported that Microsoft lost US\$100 million every US\$149 unit sold. Five years later, Xbox has made serious trouble—capturing about 10 per cent



ZUNE HAS AN FM TUNER AND ENOUGH MEMORY TO HOLD 7,500 SONGS

digital music. The 60 million iPods sold worldwide represent about 90 per cent of the market. And iTunes, Apple's online music store, is responsible for more than 70 per cent of all legally downloaded music, with about 5 billion songs sold since its launch in 2003.

The world's largest software maker desperately wants in, and hopes that *Zune*—which looks very similar to the iPod—will help him do it. *Zune*, which is scheduled to hit U.S. stores in December, will feature 70 gigabytes (73,000 songs) of storage. And unlike the iPod, it will have a built-in FM tuner and allow for the wireless transfer of music from other players. Music obtained wirelessly will be deleted after three days or three plays, whatever comes first. Having secured deals with several record labels, Microsoft will promote its players with music, and users will be able to download more songs from *Zune* Market place, Microsoft's new online store.

Many think that Apple has an insurmountable lead, and predict Microsoft's foray into digital music will be a costly failure. But this isn't the first time Microsoft has entered a market late and beaten *Rock* to play catch-up. In 2001, the Seattle-based company launched Xbox, six years after Sony introduced the original PlayStation. Back then,

played 2.8. "When they first came out they cost about US\$450—which a lot of people at the time thought was too much—they weren't very expandable and they were kind of slow."

When Microsoft released Windows 3.0 in 1988, Apple fought back. It launched a copyright infringement lawsuit, seeking to prevent Microsoft from using any Mac software elements on its new, improved application. After a four-year legal battle, the case was dismissed. (Apple also lost an appeal in 1994.) "Apple always thought that it was much more limited format," says Linsinger, "and hoped the court would agree. It didn't."

In 1996, six years after Microsoft to Apple, the company had founded two decades earlier and which was now desperate for a

survive. And though he sparked interest with the release of the second-generation iPod in 1996, things didn't turn around instantly. "If you look at the business pages even after Jobs came back, everyone was saying that Apple wasn't going to make it another quarter," says Linsinger. "There was a lot of talk about breaking up the company and selling off its pieces." Things didn't really take off again until Jobs decided that the future was digital music. So, off he the shelves and Apple released back to the forefront of the tech scene.

While Apple has cornered the market on cool, Microsoft has flat out copied. Critics argue that it's become a bit complacent—too focused on the application stores where it already holds control, including Office and Windows. Of the billions that Microsoft pours into research and development every year, a large portion of it is still spent on improving the core part of the business. Although the company will make a lot of money, some analysts say that Microsoft lacks the brilliant new innovations that have been a global phenomenon in the first place.

There have also been some smaller, but less publicized skirmishes in the software world of the business. "Apple has slowly eroded the importance of Microsoft to the Microsoft community by developing a lot of excellent applications in-house," says Linsinger. "Microsoft used to be the dominant browser for Macintosh users. But then

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BUSINESS

Apple came out with Safari and shortly thereafter, Internet Explorer was no longer No. 1 with Mac users. One by one Apple has been knocking down the giants of Microsoft Office. They're eliminating the threat that Microsoft always had over them, which was they didn't put as off as much, or we'll stop developing for the Mac. "Long-term products that the next big battle will take place next year between Mac OS X and Microsoft's Vista," Apple now feels confident enough to take on Vista, and by all reports that I've heard, Apple's new version of OS X is light years ahead of what Microsoft is producing," he says.

"The big question is whether Apple will produce a version of OS X that will run on non-Apple hardware. I think they're going to do it, and they don't want to tip their hand."

Billions to crack the digital music business. After three years, Dell—which has much higher computer sales than Apple—gave in to Apple's dominance and discontinued its MP3 player business this year. "Nobody, except Apple, is really making money in this space," says Wu. "It's not that good a business to begin with unless you're the dominant player. It only looks good because Apple is doing well."

While launching the iPhone in 2007, Apple has increased its total value (it currently sits at \$100.5 billion), and has seen its stock rise more from successful than from successful than Microsoft, meanwhile, has watched its stock bounce around in the mid-\$20 range for years. That's largely because Microsoft's operating system business has leveled off con-

SEARCHING FOR HELP

New search engines have a secret weapon—real live human beings

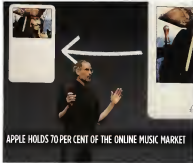
BY RANNEY MACDONALD • Google may have a stronghold over the competition, but it's not unbeatable. Now that the race is on for new and better ways to search the Web, at ChatChau (ready for prime time in January), human researchers provide real-time, one-on-one help—for free.

Half of all Internet searches fail to deliver the desired answer, according to ChatChau founder Scott Jones, who helped create digital visioncast in a 26-year-old, and later Grindr, the popular mobile version of ChatChau, he says, is the Web version of it.

After typing a query—"Where can I stay in Vancouver, B.C., working day, for under \$100 per night?"—users are connected to a ChatChau guide. (The company is recruiting university students and stay-at-home parents, who will earn between \$150 and \$160 an hour.) Guides will provide real-time answers via instant message. As with Google, Indianapolis-based ChatChau earns its revenue from targeted ads—mostly videos—that play as you wait the result of your search.

It's not the first search engine to harness people power. Public question-and-answer sites, like Google Answers, Ask.com, Knowledge and Answers, are popping up, and they're increasingly popular. Yahoo! Answers saw 14 million visitors in July, up from nine million in May. Yet Justin Colwell, general manager of Metacrawler, is skeptical. "If you use it to do something significantly better to Google's search than really isn't much of a point because people will not search for something that is 10 to 20 per cent better."

In the world of online search engines, Google is Colwell. "To compete, you've got to come at them in a unique way," says Bob Enders, of the Enders Group in Seattle, Cof. There's, according to Enders, will be recruiting enough guides to make ChatChau's live search experience fast and effective. The company has already hired 7,000 and expects to have 10,000 guides by year end. But demand will be high, if search experience is any guide—an experience form of ChatChau was low on Yahoo! Day, and got more than one query per second—as a search engine, it's not the end. Maybe the Web was really in all the hands. ■



CORRECTION: When Steve Jobs said his rights in digital music, Apple finally introduced

But first, the focus is on digital music. Can Zune kill the mighty iPod—the Sony Walkman of our generation? One analyst predicts that it "isn't even going to give the iPod a bad case of the shivers." Another, Steve Wu, thinks that the best Microsoft can hope for is to capture the 20 percent of the market that Apple hasn't cornered—having its partners in the process. "It's going to be more of a civil war than anything," says Wu, an analyst with American Technology Research. "Microsoft partnered with a bunch of companies and gave them a couple of years to compete with Apple. But then they haven't done all that well, Microsoft is now just the market leader, forget it, we'll just handle it ourselves."

At the same time, while its Internet efforts—against Google and Yahoo!—and the Xbox business have been so costly so far, Windows. But Bill's billions (his company has \$18.4 billion in cash), and the fact that Microsoft has learned from Apple's mistakes, has some analysts more bullish on Microsoft's chances of loosening Apple's digital music clutches—at least over the long haul. "Pace," says Wu, "is Microsoft's only weapon." It's been reported that Zune will retail for \$150—although the company will only say that it will be priced competitively. But Apple recently countered by announcing that its new 16-gig iPod will sell for \$139.99, \$10 cheaper than the current retail price. "Microsoft definitely has the product," says Wu, "but I think at some point enough is enough." ■

At the same time, while its Internet efforts—against Google and Yahoo!—and the Xbox business have been so costly so far, Windows.

JUNIOR FACES THE BIG TEST

Galen Weston Jr. is now the boss at Loblaw's. But is he up to the job?

BY ANNE KIRKSTON • As dynamic terms passing go, Galen Weston's august hand-off last week at Loblaw Companies to his 33-year-old son, Galen G. Weston, lacked the Olympian gravity for which he's known. The executive reshuffle at the country's largest supermarket chain saw the exit of president John Lebleu, a 30-year company veteran at the helm six years. The younger Weston, who has held senior positions in the company for eight years and sits on its board, was promoted to an executive chairman, supplanting his father who remains chairman of George Weston Ltd., the \$5.4-billion food conglomerate that has an \$8 billion controlling stake in Loblaw. To quell concerns over Weston's lack of command experience, Allan Leblanc, a Weston family adviser with a track record in U.S. retail, including a stint at Wal-Mart Canada, was appointed deputy chairman, and Mark Fournier, a senior executive from Canadian Tire, was named president.

As a staple, the three-decade-old rights issue filling an arena for Lebleu's recent dismal performance. Adding pith was the fact that it was the stunning contrast of a beleaguered Loblaw in the 1970s that proved Galen Weston's own corporate riddle to his father, Garfield Weston. Shunning his father's advice, Weston hired young Richard Currie, a strategic misanthrope, and Dave Nichol, the music marketing genius who created the President's Choice brand and brought bubble wine to the masses. Riding the crest of rampant food inflation, they transformed the stability, money-losing chain into an industry leader.

Now, Currie and Nichol are long gone, and Loblaw has lost its cachet as a product innovator and smart merchandiser. In the past few years, the company's shifted to discounting and over food merchandising, losing its unique edge on the food side. To hear an

outside observer, desperate overhaul of its supply chain in anticipation of Wal-Mart's hyper-efficient arrival in Ontario later this year.

On a conference call with analysts, the 65-year-old Weston stated emphatically that his son is more than ready to take the reins. The younger Weston will preside over the President's Choice holdings, store construction and labour relations, a prickly area given the threat of an imminent strike by unionized workers in Ontario. He will handle Loblaw's supply chain and its core food and general merchandise businesses—the day-to-day. The more seasoned Leblanc will “advise,” while some industry watchers have interpreted to mean “be in charge.” Yet others insist that Galen Sr., a shrewd judge of executive character, would never throw his son into the fray without believing he's capable. As one analyst observes, the Weston family, with a \$5.5 billion interest in Loblaw Companies, “has a lot of skin in the game.” Peter Holden, an analyst with Versus Investment Research Corp. in Toronto, believes young Weston's corporate training wheels are temporary. “A short-term measure to bolster confidence while the paragon acts as a



THE NEW: The younger Weston and his wife, Alexandra

FORMER CEO RICHARD CURRIE CALLS THE DETERIORATION OF THE LOBLAW BRAND ‘HEARTBREAKING’

But there is little time for learning on the job. Analysts express concern that senior executives will flee to competitors that are riding in Prius Crossovers, at CIBC World Markets, expresses the mood in the typically crumbly language of a Bloomberg research report: “We do not view the recent management changes as necessarily positive,” he writes. The stock, which had fallen from \$39 to under \$10 since April 2005, dropped 51 on the news. Even highly seasonal genres in the department, right-lipped Canadian business establish-

ment, Currie, now chairman of BCE Inc., turned his dissent over the reorganization to the Globe and Mail, saying he found the timing questionable, the executive took “fury,” and the deterioration of a company that he spent three decades building “heartbreaking.”

Such public disapproval of anything Weston-related is rare. Galen Weston Sr. and his wife, Hilary, moved elegantly on both sides of the Atlantic, charming with royalty and donating generously to charity and the arts. If the couple can be faulted it would be for their selfishness in not providing gifts for grandmothers. Their children, Marysah and Galen, evidenced none of that behavior as often seen in billionaire offspring. Their Galen would one day head the company founded in 1812 by his great-grandfather, George Weston, son of a pious, just like the eccentric Weston family tradition of saddling boys with names that begin with “G.” To date, however, the older Alexander has shown the greater

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Columbus, Ohio, radio dealer Keith Dennis has sparked an uproar with a series of radio ads in which he declares “Folks! Folks!” with five rubber swords for the kiddies and sells stuff at a discount. “Our prices are lower than the evil ones,” one ad says, sporting graphics from American Muslims. In defending the ads, Dennis said that it was “fair game” to poke “a little fun at extremists.”

Glen Grunwald knows the anguish of being your brother's keeper, when your brother is homeless and has schizophrenia.

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affinity for retail. She is involved with overseeing the new corporate housing at family-owned Holt Renfrew and the revitalization of Selfridges in London, where she is creative director.

Known for his style and love of art, it is unlikely that the London-based Marks would find professional satisfaction in the carbonless benedictines of the supermarket and worry with its focus on margins, shelf space and dirty revenues. Now the Galeses display an early interest in the family business. Their first love was theatre. As a pupil at Upper Canada College he was an avid participant in the drama department—in addition to being a good student, star athlete and event organizer. In 1991, he and school pal Michael Shaine created Spike Productions, which staged plays in Toronto, New York and London. In 2004, the pair opened The Spike in Toronto, a private club for the city's creative community.

All the while, however, he prepped for the corporate role he was born to play, earning a B.A. from Harvard and an M.B.A. from Columbia. Known to share his father's love on the polo field and his people skills, it's unclear yet whether Wosnes has inherited parent's mercantile coach or knack for spot (ing) talent. He has told friends he has given up to enjoy business, particularly during his stint as President's Choice banking services. Certainly there is little evidence he is conflicted about his destiny. By all reports, he's an impeccably dressed guy, with long hair, a mustache and zero social pretension. He dresses being called Glen Wosnes Jr., purveyor GG or G2, his family nickname (Galen for a G). Like his famously private father, he avoids media scrutiny, declining a request for an interview. When his artificially rare industrial lair in a grungy Toronto neighbourhood was photographed for Toronto Life magazine in 2001, its resident was referred to obliquely as "The Bachelor."

That screen ended in 2005 when he married Alexandra Schmidt, a member of the Betsi shoe empire family, as a choice in Providence. The stylish couple has crisscrossed as groom and guest of Toronto's young socialites at. Their lavish pre-wedding party was held in an abandoned loft where house transformed into a woodland: white carpeting was laid, orchid dandelions blazed, a classical trio lullabyed and the couple's rings were projected on water cascading down walls. After a live-McKenzie hosted video that paid tribute to the bearded couple, Wosnes revealed his future bride with her *Leanne* sing-along. "The age he now assumes is less glamorous, though far more harmonious. The fact that finally comes the theatre affixes G2 little protection. Critical eyes are already on him to assess how able a player he will be."

NOEL BRUNNEN



CHANGE IT? Low interest rates enticed North Americans to spend as fast as they earn

THE SPENDING TRAP

Trouble looms if consumers rediscover their savings accounts

BY DAFNA BRUNBERG • As the U.S. housing market declines, a slowdown in the North American economy now seems inevitable and consumers have begun to ask a frightening question: what happens if, and when, we start saving our money again?

Saving was once considered an integral part of any household budget. But over the past decade, Canadians and Americans have submitted credit cards and cut loans for savings accounts. Savings rates, a measure that compares monthly earnings with monthly spending, have been steadily declining for 50 years. In Canada, the savings rate is down to one per cent, in the U.S., it's dipped into negative territory for the first time since the Great Depression. "People have changed their perspective," says Don Drummond, chief economist at TD Bank Financial Group. "If they were a new car, where they might have 20 years ago thought, well, we're gonna have to save for two years to buy that new car, now they borrow and buy it right away."

All this is raising serious questions about how consumers—who have spent for more than two thirds of the North American economy—will cope when the economy eventually hits rocky patch. Over the past few years, as people watched their houses skyrocket in value (in the U.S., prices have risen over 60 per cent since 2001), they began to borrow against their home equity. "You basically say, I made 200,000 on my house last year, that's my savings," says Benjamin Tal, senior economist at CIBC World Markets. "You

let the house do the saving." Or, as Merrill Lynch's chief North American economist David Rossberg says, "We turned our homes into an automatic banking machine."

But every bubble has to burst. As real estate values fell in the U.S., many who have been counting their house as their next egg are waking up to empty savings accounts. "Are you going to sell your house just because you lose your job or you need \$25,000 for an emergency? It's not liquid," says Tal. Inevitably, economists believe, people are going to convert to the old-fashioned way of saving—not buying a house.

Rossberg believes we're in uncharted territory. "How consumers will respond to a balance-sheet shock from deflating real estate values is an open question," he says. Drummond estimates the wealth people drew from their homes fuelled half the consumption growth in the U.S. for the last three years. But the experts are cautiously optimistic of a relatively soft landing, in both the U.S.'s Federal Reserve System and the Bank of Canada (home for a rate in savings). The Fed, which raised interest rates 17 times over the last two years, has left them alone since August, and is expected to start cutting them in the new year. Canada is likely to follow suit.

For now, people are spending at a gradual upward shift in the savings rate to the neighbourhood of two or three per cent. Chances are, we're never going back to the days when saving 10 per cent of your pre-tax income was considered normal. Rossberg, who at Canada does, believes there will be some "subdued" spending in the U.S., but a sharp collapse is unlikely. After all, he says, even in the most desperate times, shopping is still a North American national pastime. ■

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HEAVY OVERLOAD: How many calories in the chicken? The dipping sauce? The ketchup?

Would you like some info with that?

Restaurants argue that nutritional labelling is a recipe for trouble

BY DANIELA HANNALEK • *Canadians*

get one or every 10 meals from a restaurant. If that doesn't sound particularly heart stopping, consider that these meals tend to be higher in fat, sodium and sugar content than those prepared at home. But how could anyone stand in a food court, pondering an order of chicken strips versus, say, a burger, know the relative health merits of the ingredients in these meals? They couldn't, not easily. That may soon change if the House of Commons passes a private member's bill proposed by Liberal MP Joan Wopas. Bill C-281 would amend the Food and Drugs Act and force companies with over \$10 million in annual sales to list on their menus the calories, fat and fat content, per serving, of each standardized 30-calorie menu board, like those at McDonald's and Hardee's, would have to list calories per serving. "Information is never a bad thing," Wopas says. "It's always good to have facts upon which to base decisions, and that includes food."

Bill C-281's touch goes well beyond restaurants. The legislation would also require nutritional labels, similar to those already on prepackaged foods, on fresh meats—beef,

pork, poultry—sold in large grocery stores. And it requires manufacturers of prepackaged foods such as frozen soups, cereals and pasta to indicate the percentage by weight of a product's ingredients, including sugar, fat, vegetable, beans and whole grains.

The restaurant industry in Canada is expected to pull in almost \$40 billion this year, and it's been the bill's most vocal opponent. Bill Holaday, vice-president of research and communications for the Canadian Restaurant and Foodservice Association, says Bill C-281 is profoundly flawed because the business is increasingly geared toward customers. "Every restaurant does now a menu board farthest from us—they're not prepared in the same way each time."

As for 30-calorie portions, he notes, preparing 10,000 orders, he says, could take

part in a voluntary program launched last year to encourage nutritional information restaurants. Posing, he argues, and what are the program's intentions, and the industry says voluntary guidelines do the job better than the proposed. Wopas not involved. "Industry guidelines," he says, "don't work anywhere for anyone." And industry critics like Bill Holaday, an assistant professor at the Centre for Science in the Public Interest at Ottawa, question the effectiveness of a poster hanging beside the bathroom, or a brochure tucked away on a counter somewhere. For information to produce health benefits, it has to be readily available. "No, if you put it under a tree, for instance, no one's likely to notice it until after they finish their meal," Holaday says. "It's like a deliberate attempt to ensure consumers don't have informed choice when they make their product decisions."

The second reading of Bill C-281 began with an hour of debate in mid-September. Some Conservative members raised serious doubts over whether the bill was workable, while New and NDP members spoke out to support, with minor reservations. The bill is expected to come before the Commons again in November, and if passed, be forwarded to the standing committee on health before attempting for a third and final reading.

Last June, the same bill was defeated by Health Canada and the Liberal and Conservative Members of Parliament. It's the subject of a complex of federal government to label their menus. But the bill also notes Canadian an average get 22 per cent of their daily calories from food bought outside the home, often from fast-food outlets. Wopas says it doesn't take a rocket scientist to notice that all dressed plans have more calories than a basic one with just a bit of cheese and tomato sauce. The way to get around all the variability, he says, is to post the average calorie content of a basic menu item. Consumers are smart enough, he says, to know that adding toppings adds extra calories and inches to waists. Ignoring it's too complicated and a bad thing. "That's a manufactured argument to try to prevent information from being given to consumers, instead of trying to work to find a common denominator from which consumers can negotiate," Holaday says. "It's not a simple or a complex economic decision."



CHA-CHA YOUR WAY TO MENTAL HEALTH
There's nothing like the rhythm that set your body moving to give you the ability to lift chronic depression. Matt Binks, a British Columbia resident and avid salsa dancer, is investigating whether Cuban dances such as the mambo and salsa can relieve the mental condition. "It's been documented that exercise can help mental health problems," he says. Binks believes that it's the combination of dance and social interaction that helps gladden minds.



MELISSA O'NEIL, last year's Canadian Idol, waits to perform at the CNE in Toronto in 2006

You're no Idol at your old school

This Canadian Idol's homecoming wasn't what she was expecting

BY KRISTINA DEZIEL • High school is hell—especially if you're the Canadian Idol. When Melissa O'Neil won the TV singing contest last year, her classmates were starting Grade 12 at Lester B. Pearson High School in Calgary. Instead of math, choir and school dances, she signed a record contract, made a CD and toured the country with her boyfriend. Idol runner-up Rex Goudie—all the while taking distance learning courses. When the tour wrapped in April, O'Neil decided to go back to her old school for the remaining two months before graduation. "I needed to be in a conducive learning environment—a computer in the corner of my apartment is not." It would also be a chance to reconnect with friends she hadn't seen in almost a year. Or so she thought.

Turns out the same students who had hugged her, waved for her and been so proud of her during the competition had experienced a change of heart after the show. "One of my best friends called and asked me if I was coming back to school," recalls O'Neil, now 18. "She said, 'I really don't think you should, everyone hates you here.' Hate is a

strong word, you know. I was like, 'You say everybody hates me?' And she said, 'People just talk about you all the time and some people who you thought were your friends might not want you the way you think they would.'"

O'Neil, who considers herself outgoing, went back anyway. How bad could it be? "I

had a pretty heavy attitude, two posters, drawings. People who I was friends with would make fun of me, say things [sarcastically]. 'Can I have your autograph?' Some days I would have to pee so bad but I waited 10 minutes because I didn't want to go walk around in the hall." That dusk in the corner of her apartment started to look pretty welcoming. "I told my friend and my teachers, 'I don't want to go back to school, I just want to do it at home.' They said, 'The only way to show them that you're still the same is by being who you are.' Well, that's easy to say."



POLAND: BAD COWS GET STONED

Although marijuana possession is a crime in Poland, that didn't stop one desperate farm woman from cultivating a crop, just to help her cow. Police in the town of Lubartow arrested the woman when they found her cow was "drunk and unruly," to the point that it had once broken a person's arm. But, she told police, ever since she fed it leaves from three-metre-tall homegrown plants, "the cow has become calm as a lamb."

By all accounts, pre-Idol O'Neil had been a confident, hard-working, well-liked student, who was on the basketball team and in two big musical productions. She played Maria in *West Side Story* and Carmen in *Flame*, the character who sings the title song. *Flame*, I'm gonna love forever / I don't remember my name. "I had given two years of my life and invested everything into that school," says O'Neil, "academic-wise, athletic-wise, creative-wise. And it was as if I had never been there. I was the new dorky kid that no one likes."

The homecoming school was that time had changed her, turned her into a dork—and it became cool not to like her. "It was such a good, exciting environment through the whole idol songwriting," says former classmate Dan Hessepawa, 16 (who played Tere to O'Neil's Maria). "But as soon as she didn't come back for Grade 12 and was off in Toronto, everybody just started saying things and making up stories and looking up this bad image of her. By the time she got back it just stayed that way. I think people were just jealous."

O'Neil's music teacher, Kathryn Ribben, chalks it up to a maturity thing. "As an adult, when I would phone her and it took her several weeks to get back to me, I realized it was because her time is not her own. There are all of these crazy demands and new things happening and it's really easy not to call someone back. But I think as teenagers, that was a harder concept to grasp. She was off doing this amazing thing and she was suddenly a star and they missed her."

Plus, the O'Neils didn't even on TV and CD covers weren't all that recognizable. "Idol made her up," says Ribben. "She's much more

'I WOULD HAVE TO PEE SO BAD BUT I WAITED 15 MINUTES BECAUSE I DIDN'T WANT TO WALK IN THE HALL'

exotic onstage, her eye makeup is different. They brought out her multi-colored background. She doesn't really wear makeup at school, she looks like I yuck all the time. Her hair was always in a ponytail. And I don't think I'd ever seen her as beautiful as I saw her on the show."

Her showing up in town when she came back still didn't hurt her as her classmates' eyes. She was once a celebrity—which further in-

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a degree of one. Not to mention that for every high school student, being a manufactured idol is not exactly the coolest kind of celebrity.

Ruben wears the L'Oréal Paris student just didn't know how to handle the new situation. Plus, when O'Neil came back to school, she was nervous and hid in the music room, working on the distance courses rather than joining classes that had started eight months earlier. And she focused on school work rather than spins, socializing or theatre. If she'd imagined more, or she



O'NEIL, with now boyfriend Rex Goudie

other students had made more of an effort to come and talk to her, Ruben's convinced they would have been the same. Melissa: "It was like the never full. Her kindness and thoughtfulness toward other people—none of that had changed. And she looked like herself again."

Had the school year been a little longer, says Ruben, everyone would have come around and the situation would have normalized. As proof, he notes the graduation ceremony at which O'Neil received the same amount of applause as all the other students. Still, O'Neil stayed out on the limo part of the evening. (There had been rumblings from classmates that they didn't want any of O'Neil's TV cameras showing up and stealing their grad from them.) Even though O'Neil didn't go to the dance, her boyfriend Goudie drove all the way from his home in Newfoundland for the occasion. "We were bonding with my family," says O'Neil.

These days, O'Neil shares a house in Dorset with Goudie. "I'm over it," she says about her now-so-happy high school homecoming. But expect to see some of the trauma resurface in the lyrics of her next album (which is due early next year). She plans on co-writing a scrapped down-on-love ballad, in which she laments all about her family and life pre- and post-competition. "What I want to do is take out all my diaries and my journals and just have it laid out for whoever I'm co-writing with. I know there are going to be songs where I totally bond and I don't want to talk about it. But it will totally connect with people." ■

IMAGE IS EVERYTHING

'Narcissism and Celebrity' proves beauty is only skin deep

BY BARBARA SCHTROM • Drew Pinsky can't talk now. He only has an hour to get to *The Tyra Banks Show*. He will be discussing "Narcissism and Celebrity," a new study of 108 real (afternoon) women who he did with last partner, Mark Young. It hasn't been published yet but it is causing some buzz in the entertainment biz. Working for Pinsky to finish Tyra, Melinda's interview Young, who is almost brainless with excitement. He is doing Howard Stern, he says. And in the near future, maybe a book. After two years of intense making the ring, the two have become instant experts. Even better, they have shared the very thing their subjects crave—overnight fame.

As if they needed it. Between them, Pinsky and Young have a list of accomplishments half a stretch into long. To name just a few, Young is a University of Southern California business and communications professor and author. Pinsky is USC assistant clinical professor of psychology and the head of a chemical dependency clinic at a Pasadena,



although they didn't know that Pinsky and Young began with the ignorance that they were narcissists. They know now. After collating the results, the pair concluded that celebrities are among the most narcissistic people on earth, and they got that way long before they ever lived the sound of applause.

But narcissism is not what it's cracked up to be. Celebrities may self-aggrandize and even peddle, but they also hide their real selves from the world, probably because they have been so traumatized as kids, and they have no self-esteem. Says Young, "People who are fame-seekers have created an image of themselves and they only want people to like that image. They are not in love with themselves."

Women seem to suffer more than men. Pinsky and Young broke their research down into seven categories: authority, exhibitionism, superiority, vanity, self-sufficiency, egotism and egomaniac. Women scored higher on exhibitionism and vanity—but also, surprisingly, on superiority. Women who starred on reality TV shows scored highest of all. "We think it's because reality TV has given people the impression that anybody can be a star," Young says. "They think, 'Bel-

STAR POWER Books might be an interesting subject matter

WOMEN SCORED HIGHER ON VANITY—AND SUPERIORITY

Calif., Hospital 216 is also the host of a radio show, called *Devilish*, on KROQ in L.A., and that's where he got the fodder. Five nights a week, Pinsky gives up his advice on sexuality with the opinions of regular guests such as the Red Hot Chili Peppers, Alanis Morissette and Tom Green. If they are among the subjects, Young won't comment. "We said, 'They can hold a gun to our heads and we will not reveal your names.'"

Besides, investigating the celebrity personality was more important to them than mere dropping. Young wanted validation for a new course on narcissism management. The two harp on the idea to do something no one had ever done before—take an exciting bit of 40 questions called the Narcissism Personality Inventory and administer it to Los Angeles celebrities, off air. Talking to them at a radio station was a great way to put them at ease. "They are not afraid," says Young. "There are no papers outside so they don't care. They are very down-to-earth." Celebrities, apparently, should feel the idea,

lywood is going to love it." But they have to do it fast. The shelf life is very short.

Pinsky, post Tyra, says he is concerned that the study's results are being construed as pejorative. He does celebrities, he says. And he empathizes with them. Narcissism means deep feelings of emptiness and possibly being closer to other people, he says. "It is an unpleasant state to be in."

And, for the partners, it is only the beginning. Once this bookish has died down, they may pursue what Pinsky calls "the depth of psychology" he has witnessed in his love life. Pinsky shows is just for fun, then there are attachment disorders, often handed down from generation to generation in some of Hollywood's fame families. (Thomas-Carter's sister comes to mind), although he is one star Pinsky has never met—or met. Once that plays out, it is the interview in studying close relatives of the spirit, including beautiful women. After all, he says, "In this town, they have the same status." A very short life, indeed. ■



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Ricky, Julian and Bubbles go beyond the tube and learn to live with a Hollywood boob job
BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

film

The boys never wanted pitifulness added to their movie lives, their characters are thriving, dope dealing con men

who speak in deepening synecopisms of the Far West. And when Trailer Park Boys playboy Showtime, it's greeted by warring for both comic language and nudity. But the nudity alert is there, believe it or not, only because of the beer-bellied Randy, the assistant trailer park manager who sleeps around shameless. The boys had always drawn the line at rated women. Until Hollywood asked.

The boys were reluctant to meet with a good thing. Acquiring a formerly loyal audience of over 100,000 viewers per episode, their dollars a day low rent cable show, new on the verge of its seventh season, had developed the comely growth of a solid cult hit.

The show's stars—Bible Wills (Ricky), John Paul Tremblay (Johnny) and Mike Smith (Bubbles)—were local heroes; they couldn't walk down a street in Canada without being mobbed. Then, in late 2001, Hollywood came knocking in the person of expatriate Canadian Sean Rayman. As producer and director of such hits as *Animal House*, *Stripes*, *Groundhog Day* and *Old School*, Rayman is Hollywood's godfather of delinquent male comedy. And he wanted to take the boys to the big screen.

In late 2001, Rayman and his office in Beverly Hills, along with the show's producers and director Mike Clatterburg. With members sitting in a boardroom with a good view of the Hollywood sign and being duly impressed it was the first of many meetings, and some rough script negotiations. "We pitched a lot of crazy ideas that I even thought wouldn't work for a first-time audience," says Clatterburg. "He kept beating that into our heads: first-time audience. And a guy with those credentials, you listen."

"We'd say something he insisted on," he adds. "And we were kind of like, 'I don't know if we really want to do that.' But he convinced us. He's the king of it rated comedy, and he said, 'You've got to come up with some funny way to do it.' Well, who else would do it?" Wills, who once wrote the movie with Clatterburg, says Rayman was "adamant" about it. "He said the young male audience is expecting to see some nudity. We believed about it for a while and finally agreed. I've never been a fan of it. But I guess it works under the circumstances."

Nudity was one of several issues that arose as the Trailer Park gang fought to stay loyal to their Canadian fans while Rayman tried to package the characters for a larger audience that's never seen the show. Wills says the boys began by pitching a movie "all about guns and dogs," with the boys trying to arrange a pot across the U.S. border. Instead, they

Sexing up our Trailer Park Boys

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ended up with a raucous comedy that features a strip club, a wedding and a dog park brawl at the local multiplex. "I didn't want to ripen the juice of an East Coast Canadianism out of it," Rayman told Macdonald, "because that was what was funny and unique about it. I just wanted to make sure it would work as a movie for anybody who didn't know who the characters were."

Producer Larry Dana, who helped create the series and plays Ricky's father, says, "That wasn't disastrous. But he was passionate. He said if we were going to take the show out of our home market, this is how you make a Hollywood movie. He started it toward it means comedy. I don't think we were always trying to maintain the characters' integrity. It's a hybrid, but I think it works."

He's right. Here's the bottom line: Trailer Park Boys the Movie is pretty damn funny. And the characters survive with their integrity as intact as the precious glass of raw-and-raw color that takes carries like a gyroscope while the world crumbles around him.

It comes after a lot of strained attempts to connect a broadly entertaining English Canadian comedy. *Men With Brooms* (2002) almost cracked under the genre's weight of its ambition as a raucous between raucous drama and comic comedy. *Poltergeist* (2005), a generic horror flick, became a whipping boy for a



TRAILER PARK BOYS (from left) Tremblay, Wills and Smith attempt a meditation he is a raucous comedy that has Ricky ending Larry from a strip club and tying the knot

"Bickling policy of underwriting Hollywood fare. Even this year's *Real Cops*, *Real Cops*, for all its rough brilliance, is wildly uneven in tone—a manic confederation of farce and realism wrangled in the visual style of a core commercial. Besides, it's more French than English."

But for once here's a Canadian movie that is what it is: a fun frolic, character-driven com-

edy. Trailer Park, the boys join the Big Darts, a scheme to steal a jackpot of small change from a real-pley-in-the-lobby, these/a poster for *Real* proof, an in-joke that suggests the Canadian best movie is anything but slick.

But it is sweet. When he gets out of jail, Ricky is shocked to discover that his girlfriend, Lucy (Lucy DeCassiere), has a job in a strip club and a brand new pair of breasts, courtesy of the limbo ball club owner, Sonny (Hugh Munn). Lucy is more than willing to marry Ricky if he could just get his life together, stay out of jail and

never show "But to the boys' credit, they split some interior dialogue out of the generous reality, adverting the whole notion of its commercial value. When Sonny pulls a gun and asks Ricky to pay \$6,000 for Lucy's boob job, Ricky says Sonny has used the boobs more than he has, there's no way he's paying for "used tits," and besides, "I don't even like like this. I like Lucy the way she was."

In the TPR TV series, which starts its seventh season in April, Lucy will go back to the way she was, along with the rest of the boys, in a story that salvages national respect for the movie. The movie and TV

storylines will never cross, says Dunn. They exist in separate worlds. The series uses the mockumentary conceit of a reality show, which Reitman didn't want in the movie. "Originally I was wanted to go partially Hollywood," says Wells. "But he did allow us to have interview clips in the end."

In negotiating with the boys, Reitman's long-time associate, New Brunswick-born producer Joe Madock, says "the biggest argument we had is that the movie should have a beginning, a middle and an end." But then he adds, "They're more talented than a lot of the people we deal with. And they fight. They were really worried about keeping their fans. We had the same problem when we made the Howard Stern movie [*Private Parts*]."

TPR is likely to find an audience in Canada. Next week Odium Films will open it on some 170 screens, with a splashy Toronto premiere that will feature an appearance by the Big Darts band, a "superconcert" that includes members of Rush, Ten Furry and Three Days Grace. But unlike SCTV's failed Doug McKenzie, or *Saturday Night Live*'s Wayne Campbell, the boys are unknown in America. And when U.S. distributors were shown the movie at a private screening during the recent Toronto film festival, there wasn't exactly a fading thrum. "Nobody's arguing that it isn't funny," says Reitman. "They just have to be convinced there's a profit to be made." We're negotiating with three distributors to find the one that's most optimistic. "Time will tell how much these boys are worth."

edy that captures the rule of chaos, the gap and wit and down home liberality of a beloved series. TPR the Movie may spring from an unlikely alliance between a Hollywood mogul and the Atlantic beaches of Canadian comedy. But despite Reitman's role as an executive producer, this remains a modest, by tradition, all-Canadian production.

In the deeply formed tradition of *Stranger Than Paradise*, *Wayne's World* and *Fubar*, a cartoonist's line of product of Canada force devoted to sports, drugs, murders and mischief. You at the beachy festivals. The Trailer Park Boys are a gang, a power trio with the flair of a rock band, in that sense they have as much in common with Monty Python or Kiki in the Hall as with the McKenna brothers or Wayne and Garth. And next to the current *Parade* vogue of gross-out comedy, TPR is almost granted, even with its lexicon of word profanities like "coddleskies" and "chickadee." The boys are closer to *Gleeful* Down the Road than to *Girls Gone Wild*.

TPR the Movie puts a fresh spin on familiar elements from the TV show. It begins with a robbery of an ATM, and there it gets away when Ricky's car, the Shamobile, cuts through a storefront window. After a stretch in the slammer (his boys' second home), Ricky is furious when he's given early release to step him from playing guard in a bill hockey tour against the guards. Back in Sonny-



REITMAN (top left) said, the young male audience experts. We looked for a while and finally compromised."

go back to growing dope. And the two things that Reitman was unable to—mitigating an industry—imply coverage. As Ricky proposes to Lucy, she says a pull. "Shave in your dirt!" and she pulls up her dress.

In Madock's interviews, all three lead actors from TPR, as well as Glensberg and Dunn, expressed doubts about the movie. "It's such a purely commercial museum," says Dunn. "To me, it was divergent. It was obviously a body double. And Lucy is a character we saw every week on Trailer Park Boys. We've just revealed a part of her that in six years of television we've



WE'RE STALKING KATE BOSWORTH

Is there a Superman curve? Ben Affleck's just made a film about how George Reeves came to get playing the Man of Steel on TV. Now Kate Bosworth, who recently played Lois Lane in the recent best-of-a-kind version, is the "cutie" for her break-in with *Ontario's* *Boys*. Says a pal, "We never believed the movie would, but she does now." The one may well be the work of publicity, she and Bloom grew apart while each was promoting a new film.



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BELLE OF THE BUTTERBALL: She's 55, has a heavy dose, and is proving a big player in the Food Network's push for younger viewers

The ultimate anti-Martha Stewart

Food TV's new star cooks with doughnuts and hasn't met a fried chicken she didn't like

BY JOHN IVINS • Paula Deen, a 55-year-old grandmother with a shock of silver hair and a heavy-lidded eye, is the queen of Southern fried comfort. "Normally, I wouldn't want to eat biscuits and gravy and fried chicken every day," says Deen. "But when I do, it's going to stick to my ribs and cook it the way that my grandmother taught me." On one episode of *Paula's Home Cooking*—which is taped at the kitchen of her Savannah, Ga., home and makes its Canadian Food Network premiere on Oct. 3—Deen aired a Krusty Krave brand pudding. The stage, set in by a fan, is a mixture of fried chicken and doughnuts from the popular U.S. chain. "I can't imagine what the fat content was," says Deen. "But it was out of this world."

Although she doesn't have any formal training, what Deen lacks in culinary know-how she makes up for in personality. She's a big talker and an even bigger laughter. Her effusive, for-funny-funny and her willingness to get her hands dirty make her a kind of anti-Martha. She built an entire empire around her routines. In addition to *Paula's Home Cooking*—which has been on the air in the U.S. since 2003—Deen stars in *Southern Party*, which debuted on the American Food Network channel "You know going to walk away from that show with a Julia Child caricature in your head," says Deen, who filmed the show at Uncle Bubba's Oyster House in Savannah, which she co-owns with her brother-in-law. Viewers will get a part-cooking, part-party show—served with a side of Deen's famous Southernness. "In one episode I made biscuits," she says, "so we brought a cow into the restaurant for me to milk."

Aside from two TV shows, Deen has a new cookbook—her fifth—coming out next

month. She edits a bi-monthly cooking and lifestyle magazine called *Cooking with Paula Deen*. (In Oprah-like fashion, the appears on the cover of every issue.) Her celebrity status spiked last year after she landed a small movie role in Orlando Bloom's *13* in *Elizabeth*. (She played, well, *freely*.) Behind a scene, Deen has some, Junior and Bobby, have achieved a degree of celebrity. They have their own Food Network series, *Real Texas!*, which debuted this summer.

Before cooking became a cash cow for Deen, she relied on a few shoppes, a fact that will be well documented in her memoirs, published next spring by Simon & Schuster. For 20 years she lived a glamorous—indeed, brilliant—condition, spoiled by the love of her parents at a young age, in which she is afraid of nothing, a panic attack in a public place. "I think like your heart is about to race out of your chest," says Deen. "You think that you're having a heart attack—that you're literally dying. And the more frightened I am, the worse it is. I can't tell you how many luggers full of greenies I've walked away from. I've got to be in a store, feel trapped, and just make a run."

Once she'd end up in her kitchen. So when she "broke her life back" in the 1980s, Deen turned again to cooking. In 1989, she started a catering business, called *The Big Lady's*

made 150 lunches a week and her name delivered the door-to-door to downtown Savannah offices. Two years later, around the time she divorced her first husband (she has since remarried), Deen set up *The Lady*, a full-service restaurant, in a 42-seat dining room at the local Best Western. But the demand for her home-cooked fare forced her to find a bigger location. Since 1996, the moved to her current downtown spot and renamed the restaurant *The Lady & Sons*.

Deen is one of Savannah's most popular tourists. Fans often line up outside *The Lady & Sons* for two hours before the Deen opens. Last year, the restaurant served about 480,000 patrons—that's 1,300 full stomachs a day. There's a four-hour bus tour of Deen country, which costs US\$51 a person. Fans with deeper pockets take her cooking class, the US\$250 prior tag guarantees them a face-to-face with their culinary idol.

Deen's new comes at a time when several celebrity chefs (Emeril Lagasse, Bobby Flay and Mario Batali) seem to be filling out of favor. The hope is that audiences will prefer Deen's homey charm to the more high-concept ideas of others. And though she'll seem like a favorite for her own's discount, Deen is a key player in the Food Network's push for a younger audience. "Young people feel like they're in the kitchen with their friends or their mother when they watch me," says Deen. "Generally speaking, everyone loves their mom."

THE UNITED NATIONS... ACCORDING TO TV

"The president of Venezuela said maybe we need to move the UN out of the United States. Afterward, a confused President Bush said, 'But that it would just be the [sic] States.'"—Conan O'Brien
"The president of Iran also spoke at the UN, and you could tell he was trying to get under Bush's skin, too. Did you notice? When he walked to the podium, he was exhibiting a Dime Chicken turn!"—Joy Lee



STYLING: KATHLEEN

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MANCUSO (left) and LUPONE in a scene from the Broadway revival of *Sweeney Todd*, directed by John Doyle

The case of the missing orchestra

Why pay all that money for musicians when actors can accompany the show onstage?

BY JAMIE J. HUGHMAN • When Stephen Sondheim's musical *Company* opened on Broadway in 1970, it was unusual for having some electronic instruments in the orchestra (i.e. In November, a revival of *Company* is opening on Broadway's 54th Street now), and it has no orchestra at all. And these days, that's no longer very unusual.

Actually, the revival of *Company*, directed by John Doyle, does have musical accompaniment, just no full-time musicians. Instead, the seven play musical instruments onstage, and no others are accompanied by whichever actor isn't on stage—and even, in some cases, by actors who are in the scene. That was a gimmick Doyle came up with in his revival of *Company* in 1997, another Broadway show, and though it earned him a good economic recovery, he didn't have the budget for an orchestra; it was so well-received by critics that he's doing it again for *Company*.

Jonathan Tanick, who orchestrated the original *Company* and *Sweeney Todd*, doesn't have any comments one way or the other on Doyle's approach, but he does have general comments about the importance of a full orchestra. "The orchestra is a major element in the musical theater," Tanick says. "It provides an early accompaniment for the themes, and it's able to provide subtlety and, in a metaphorical way, colour. It does for the ears what lighting does for the eyes."

For years, one of the pleasures of going to a Broadway musical was the chance to hear a live orchestra accompanying the singers and playing the overture. Broadway buffs could even identify the style of individual orchestras, like the plunk sound of Robert Russell Bennett (who orchestrated most of the work of Rodgers and Hammerstein). But

as it became more expensive to produce a musical, something had to go. In the '60s, Broadway producers and the American Federation of Musicians negotiated the minimum number of players required for a musical, and producers rarely hire more musicians than they have to.

While most musicals still have orchestras, there are fewer players and fewer instruments. *Company's* understated, The Drowsy Chaperone, has only 13 players and no strings. *Spamalot* has a grand total of two violins, the number you'd expect in a string quartet, not an orchestra. Electronic instruments, like keyboards and synthesizers, do much of the work that strings and brass used to do.

Orchestras today have to enter for each small band that any theatre or producer would in almost any of the question. When Tanick re-orchestrated Sondheim's *Follies* for a special a few years ago, he found that "to try to squeeze out of the reduced orchestra the enormous variety of colour and style that a score like *Follies* requires was very difficult and in many instances impossible."

But Mary Mitchell-Campbell, musical director and orchestrator for *Company*, whose arrangements are based on what the actors can play and when they're available, argues that there are artistic advantages to the new approach. "I actually was completely blown

away at how incredibly moving it is. In an odd sort of way, it makes the piece work better," she points to an effect she and Doyle are using in the show, having Robert, the unfilled boss, play an instrument until the closing number. And she says that by updating the show and its sound to the present day, they've gone beyond the very "70s sound of Sondheim's original orchestrations. "We stripped all of that away—you have to come up with things that make it more timeless."

As for Tanick, after his own experience with updating the orchestrations of a Sondheim show, he's looking forward to the upcoming concert performances of *Follies* with a traditional orchestra. These will take place next February as part of New York City Center's Encore! series. "I love the [concert] series," he says, "because it's one of the last options that present materials in as well as their full orchestra in full view, and in full hearing of the audience." For the last decade, Encore! has achieved success by performing old musicals with no sets, no costumes, but a 25-piece orchestra. The old pit band musical sound is enough to pull audiences in.

As orchestras shrink or migrate onto the stage, there's always the possibility that some shows might do away with live music, as some ballet companies have done. Tanick, for one, doesn't want to consider that possibility. "I go to the theatre to interact with other living creatures. I'd want to enjoy electrical energy, I can do that at home in greater comfort."



PERFORMANCE OF THE WEEK: PAUL TERRACOTTA

A German art student recently engulfed himself as a torchbearer warrior and hid among the famous army of such statues in Rome, China. Pablo Winicki jumped into the archaeological pit where the 2,000 figures stood, and found nothing to stand on; they, instead, hid his police who searched for him. When found, he was not still unharmed to be carried off like a log. Police didn't charge him because no harm to the relics was done.

PHOTO: MICHAEL GOODMAN

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GUÉ: A. LEPAGE (lower left) doesn't set traps for guests such as Alfonso Gagliano (lower right). They tell down on their own.

Everyone's talking about this show

'Tout le monde en parle' is audacious and fun—and Canada's most watched talk show

BY BENJAMIN AUBREY • In the highly improbable encounter that you'll run into Guy A. Lepage in a shopping mall is, say, Peter Onor. Got it, you'd have to resist to suspect you've just met one of the hottest stars in Canadian television. He just doesn't look the part. Lepage is small-framed, with a bald haircut that makes his head look too big, and he speaks in a small, nasal voice that sounds too benign and inoffensive to belong to a gun-totter, the king of the saunas, the stridentest of the most controversial and most watched talk shows in Canada at the moment. It's true he sounds so particularly, "everyone is talking about it." Every Sunday night, the two-hour program attracts up to two million viewers to Radio-Canada, the show makes news almost every week, and challenges viewers and hecklers in the prime-time cooler conversation topic on Monday mornings.

Maybe Guy Beaudin, the disgraced former chairman of the CBC, should have done like Jan Wong and stayed away. The week's men were that Wang, the Globe and Mail reporter who stirred up controversy in Quebec by linking the Dawson College shooting to the province's xenophobic language laws, declared an invitation to the program. ("I offered to interview her in English to help her explain her thoughts more easily," Lepage told *Maclean's*.) That, and, oh yes, Lt. Gen. Ramo Dallaire (ret.) telling Alfonso Gagliano to cut the crap. Gagliano, the former public works minister disgraced in the sponsorship scandal, has just published a book in the hope of clearing his name. He was telling Lepage that a cabinet minister is like a man that "a PK front end" and has no way of knowing of the shame as a player in the public ser-

vants when Dallaire—now a senator—delivered a knockout punch. "In politics is in the arena, when you're in charge, you're responsible, for successes as well as failures." The studio audience erupted into applause, a real one.

And then, of course, the week before, there was the CBC's Forum, assigning two days after being laughed out of the *Tout le monde* studio. "I don't lay down traps hoping that the guests will fall down," Lepage says. "They're adults, responsible, and their words belong to them." Beaudin's later wrote a radio interview on the pleasures of defecation, and a magazine column saying he'd been told in Lebanon asking as it is between a man and a female animal—had been rejected and debated before Lepage's show on Sept. 15; but they were seen to two French stars who invited that night: TV personality Thierry Ardisson and singer Serge Lussier. They wouldn't believe their own, and wouldn't stop laughing—long after Beaudin had clattered up. "I never joke fun as my guests," Lepage says, "but I can't tell others to stop laughing."

The impact of the show is in part due to its format, says Mario Clement, the program director for Radio-Canada. Most talk shows are one-on-one affairs, but *Tout le monde* is intended to create the feeling of a group of interesting people spending an evening to-

gether. Guests are asked to stay after their interview, and to socialize with the next ones. They drink wine on air, and the interaction sometimes goes beyond simple mugging. One night in 2004, Lt. Gen. Beaudin and Serge Gagliano pulled out leader Raul's portrait, calling him a fraud. Red left the stage in a half, still naked. And André Boivin—then candidate for the leadership of the Parti Québécois—called Lepage's straight man Doug Tardieu by asking if the word up comic was preparing him during the show. Tardieu had kept his homosexuality under wraps till that moment.

The two-hour broadcast takes up to six hours of shooting, and is then tightly edited, Clement explains. "We never give the guests the chance to have the audience yell, and beyond their premeditated. It's a challenge, and a great success." That he made some \$100,000 an hour to produce—adding \$15,000 paid each week to French producer for the rights to the format. "We always have seven guests per show, from all corners—the only condition is they must have been in the news that week."

When asked how he describes the show to his CBC colleagues in Toronto, Clement says they know it very well. "I think we were like Rick Mercer could do a good job in such a format." But Lepage has doubts. "It would work in the States, but I don't know that Canada has the free system to feed a host like that. You can't fall back on an Argus media host too often." ■



STOP THE PRESSES... BIOGRAPHY HAS A MESSAGE

A.N. Wilson, biographer of the late British poet John Betjeman, has published a new work that includes a "love letter" purportedly written by Beethoven. Wilson acknowledges that the letter, included in the latest book, *Beethoven: A Life in Letters*, is a fiction. He says the evidence for the first letters of each sentence in the correspondence are "A.N. Wilson is a bit of a snob." His publishers are keeping their notes in already printed copies.



JAY MANUEL, at the 2006 MuchMusic Video Awards. Women kept asking him how they could look as good as the catkin he worked on.

And it all started in Scarborough

The stylist made famous by 'America's Next Top Model' now has his own line of makeup

BY REBECCA BICKLER - Jay Manuel is more famous in America than he is in his native Canada. Working around New York, where he now lives, people yell "Hey! Model Boy!" when they see him. Best known as the parade-blind judge on America's Next Top Model, Tyra Banks's hot reality show, now in its seventh season, Manuel, 34, is also the host of Style Her Famous, a makeover show currently on the Style Network in the U.S., but which could be coming to Canada as Jersey on CityTV (The doc's still in the editing stages.) On the E! Network in the U.S., he's a regular on the show Fashion Police and a commentator on pre-shows, show and after. He's also just launched his own makeup line, Manuel, yes, it's spelled that way! Overdrive.

The new-ol' has worked with such celebrities as Brittany Spears and Brad Pitt, who has styled shoots for magazines like *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* and worked alongside photographers such as Herb Ritts and Annie Leibovitz, was raised in Scarborough, Ont. "Don't knock it," says Manuel. "It was a great place to grow up." Scarborough was where his love of styling photo shoots was born, even before he knew what a career meant. "I loved that job as Obsession when I was a teenager—I had there passed all over my wall." In high school, "I started doing fashion shoots at home in my bedrooms," says Manuel. "I did the lighting, the whole thing. The funny thing was, everybody wanted to be in my fashion shoots." He wants to make it clear, though, that nothing untoward ever happened during the shoots. "I swear! It was purely for art. We had [teenage] boys and girls in their and women, it's true, but there was nothing sexual about it. We were just play-

acting the imagery of the ads in magazines!"

When he first moved to New York, in his early twenties, Manuel thought he was going to be an opera singer or a conductor. (He played piano as a child and has a grand piano in his Manhattan loft.) One day, he happened to be around an opera singer who was posing for a publicity shot. He did her hair and makeup. "She loved it. I was like, 'I don't do this for a living.' The photographer asked the singer, 'Did you want to do this again, call me.'" So one day he did. Before he knew it, Manuel had an agent and was doing hair and makeup and styling shoots for major record covers.

He met Tyra Banks while doing hair makeup a shoot. "We became friends," he says. "One day she called me up and said, 'I have an idea for a reality show, but someone is going to take me seriously as a producer.' She needed me to be the serious person." He thought America's Next Top Model might be a one-season deal, but at the time: "The first season was so low budget. It was awful when I look back at it. I was doing everything. I'd get up at 4 a.m. to do Tyra's makeup, and then at every photo shoot, every girl's makeup. I was helping them produce the shoots. I thought, 'I'm never going to do this again.'"

The show turned out to be an instant hit.

A few months ago, Manuel covered Canada's

to help launch it, and he a guest judge on Canada's Next Top Model on CityTV. The Canadian contestants were different, Manuel admits. "When I first met them, I asked, 'Who seems to be Canada's Next Top Model?' They all just looked at me, not saying anything. I was like, 'You guys are going to have to do better than that!' I figured being on the States how reserved Canadians are."

He launched the makeup line on the shopping channel QVC two weeks ago. The products sold out overnight because the line they went on sale. (The line will be out in Canada next year.) "There are so many cosmetic companies out there," Manuel says. "Literally, my laundry room is full of boxes of stuff from other cosmetic companies. But I was receiving many letters from women asking things like, 'I love the makeup you did on me—and so I didn't look heavy on her, why does make look like a model?' This line is not to replace what they're using, but just to take it to the next level," he says.

It would be hard to find a busier photo-shoot stylist or makeup artist—or one who has made a name for himself in the business of managing celebrities. Besides his huge Manhattan loft, Manuel has designed and built a chisel-style house for himself in the Catskills. It's a long way from Scarborough. Asked where those old bedroom photo shoots are now, Manuel says, "I have them with me in New York. It's funny to look back at them. Some were pretty good." ■



WHAT THEY GOT FOR IT HIGH-END MARMALADE

The world's most expensive marmalade, at \$10,000 a jar, is being made with whisky, champagne and gold. (This champagne is the major Canada for Winston Churchill 1896, the gold is 24-carat bar.) And the whisky is Whyte & Mackay, which costs \$64,000 a barrel. The marmalade is being produced by J. Duer & Sons of Manchester, England, and the ceremonial jar alone costs \$2,200. All told, it would cost \$100 to cover a single slice of toast.



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BONUS ISSUE

I'm really—loud cough—really sick

BY JULIA MCINNIS • "I, lying toilet worker, people, stay with me," writes Lilie Bhaloo in her introduction to a scottish, scottish, scottish new book called *The Sick Day Mood Book: Strategies and Techniques for Rolling It*.

Laying a groundwork for fake science is built there at once as you begin employing terms, write Bishop, and even better, by falsifying these information about your health. Migrants top the list. But beware: You must know which kind of migrant you have. The handbook identifies the two: diastar and classic. "Classic is when the migraine is on one side of your head. Classic presents as over your whole giant FARE head." Hypo, choose to suffer migrants, it's worth knowing which prescription medications you're on. Patients can find this information in the book.

Moving deep, alleges "rock," according to Bishop. "They can cause my member's problems"—stomach upset, sore throat, swollen lips. A word to the wise, however: "Don't overdo it and be allergic to every thing. Pick a season or a food group. If you

Further good work includes selecting an interesting colleague who will be your work ally, preferably a woman who arrives at dawn to find the boss does "Memorize this person's co-saxosa," warns Bishop. "It's a job in a job. Set your alarm for 6 or 6:30 a.m. and phone your ally. Keep it short. Keep it simple. Don't go into detail about your illness. Just ask them to spread the word that you won't be in." In particular, Bishop warns not about sounding like a page out of Ripley's Believe It or Not. For instance, don't yell the boss you're needing to your secretary. "A sentence in a kind of rumour that happens to grow hair on teeth." So, cooing soundings and sentences is liable to look like you're

In one chapter of her book, Bishop pro-

When should you call in sick? Add-on vacations are an obvious occasion. "Get really sick on a Friday to get a head start," the writer "Or contract a harmful case of food poisoning on a Sunday night, forcing you to take Monday off and thus extending your holiday." As for what to do on your sick day, major shopping excursions, of course, would rule other plans and your late, writer-in-lap. "Your boss is one of the legitimate reasons for phoning in a sickie on a Monday or Friday. Why not the middle of the week? Because you can't go back to work on Thursday with an impossible day

Leaving work early goes easier for people over 40, writes Bishop. "You should begin to talk about how old you are and how you find it harder and harder to discuss extreme conditions."

The book concludes with a chapter on everyday hazards to avoid. Don't "overheat," advises Bishop. "Don't talk about how many times your mind went right through you." Likewise, don't discuss anything you might have to prove, such as 911 calls or trips to the

emergency room. ■

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BRUCE HARDER

1961-2006

He just wanted to rescue people in trouble.
Then came the day of the railway accident.

Bruce Bennett Harder was born on Father's Day, 1961, to Dave Harder and Caroline Elliott. He grew up in Cassio, Idaho, a town of a few hundred people halfway between Whitehorse and Skagway, Alaska—and on Tea Mile Ranch, a nearby hobby farm on the Tughit River, owned by his family. At the ranch, Bruce, his sister, Caroline and his brother, Dale, were home-schooled by Dave and Caroline. "Bruce got in as far as Grade 8," says Dale, "and decided that was enough." With his sister and brother, Bruce also learned to ride horses, fish and hunt. It was a great life for a child who loved to be outdoors. Bruce was "always on the back of a horse, in a canoe or hanging upside-down from a tree," says Dale.

His siblings grew up and left Tea Mile Ranch, but Bruce—who runs several on the property he came to co-own with Dale—stayed until 2005, when he moved into Cassio with his wife, Patricia, and their 8-year-old son, Neil. "He didn't care one much about possessions, about worldly things," says Dale, "he loved the place."

Bruce was an solitary woodsman. He was the father of six children, aged 14 to 33, two of whom were his with a woman from a previous marriage. "There was no favoritism," says his sister-in-law, Cindy Hulsebecker. Bruce created all of the children as his own. And his community reached beyond his family. As a friend of the casual Tin Hat Fire Nation, Bruce was officially adopted by the Dulavendil clan. In Cassio, Bruce became known for his cool head under pressure and his desire to help people. He headed up the volunteer ambulance service, the fire department, the search and rescue team, and the Emergency Management Organization. He responded to many wildlife rescues and snowmobile accidents.

"He was a born rescuer, according to Dale, whose helpful nature extended to his new recruits. Bruce would tell his friend Neil about the young people he had brought onto his fire squad. "He needed firefighters," says Neil, "but more than that, a lot of those young fellows he'd recruited needed some direction in their lives, and he wanted to give them something to be excited about, to feel good about."

In 2001, because of the acidity of timber, Neil says, his mother on Tea Mile Ranch was no longer profitable. Bruce became a heavy

equipment operator, loading and unloading cars on the White Pass and Yukon Railroad, a rail company connecting Skagway to Fraser, B.C. It was work Bruce could count on. White Pass is a historic railroad built during the Klondike Gold Rush in 1898. Its history, and its route through snow-capped mountains and deep gorges, makes the line a tourist draw.

On Sun., Sept. 3, at 1:30 p.m., Bruce and Neil were part of a four-man crew working on rebuilding the track in a remote area north of Fraser. The train they were on was heading eight cars filled with gravel when a jackknifed logging truck was winding left where the land drops 400 feet to Beaver Lake. "We knew we were probably going to end because we'd lost control," says Neil, who is recuperating at home from his injuries. "We were going to fail."

After the crash, one of the crew members was able to radio for help. Patricia is a member of the Cassio search-and-rescue team, and she was one of the first to arrive at the scene. She did what Bruce had trained her to do, threw my hand if I was coming far from home. Other emergency workers made sure the didn't see her husband, directing her toward the train's conductor, who along with the engineer was very seriously injured. Both men were airlifted to Whitehorse. It took five hours for the other rescuers to arrive. Neil, but Bruce—who was happy.

est, according to his brother, when he was helping someone who had been in a bad accident—could not be saved. He died at the scene. "If Bruce hadn't been involved in the accident," says Neil, "he would have been the guy with the jaws of life, cutting us out of the wreck."

Bruce had no home, so his body was carried to his Sept. 9 funeral in Cassio in an old-fashioned red fire engine. A newspaper had the way. An honor guard, made up of emergency responders from Skagway to Dawson City followed. In a white tent set up outside the Cassio Community School gym, hundreds of mourners assembled for the service. It was a traditional Tughit burial.

As word about Bruce's death continues to trickle into Yukon's remote communities, Dale says he hears Dale is rising in 30 people every day, affirming their condolences. "My brother was so quiet in his day-to-day life," says Dale. "I just didn't realize how many people he'd befriended."

BY RANNEY MACDONALD

What if technology worked in harmony with nature?

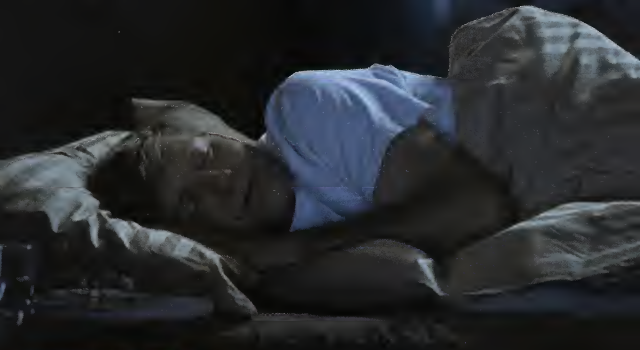
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